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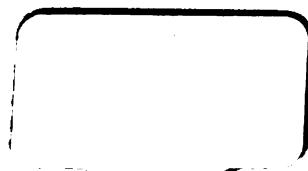
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HISTORY
OF
THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

BY
FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION
BY
ANNIE HAMILTON

VOL. III.



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1895

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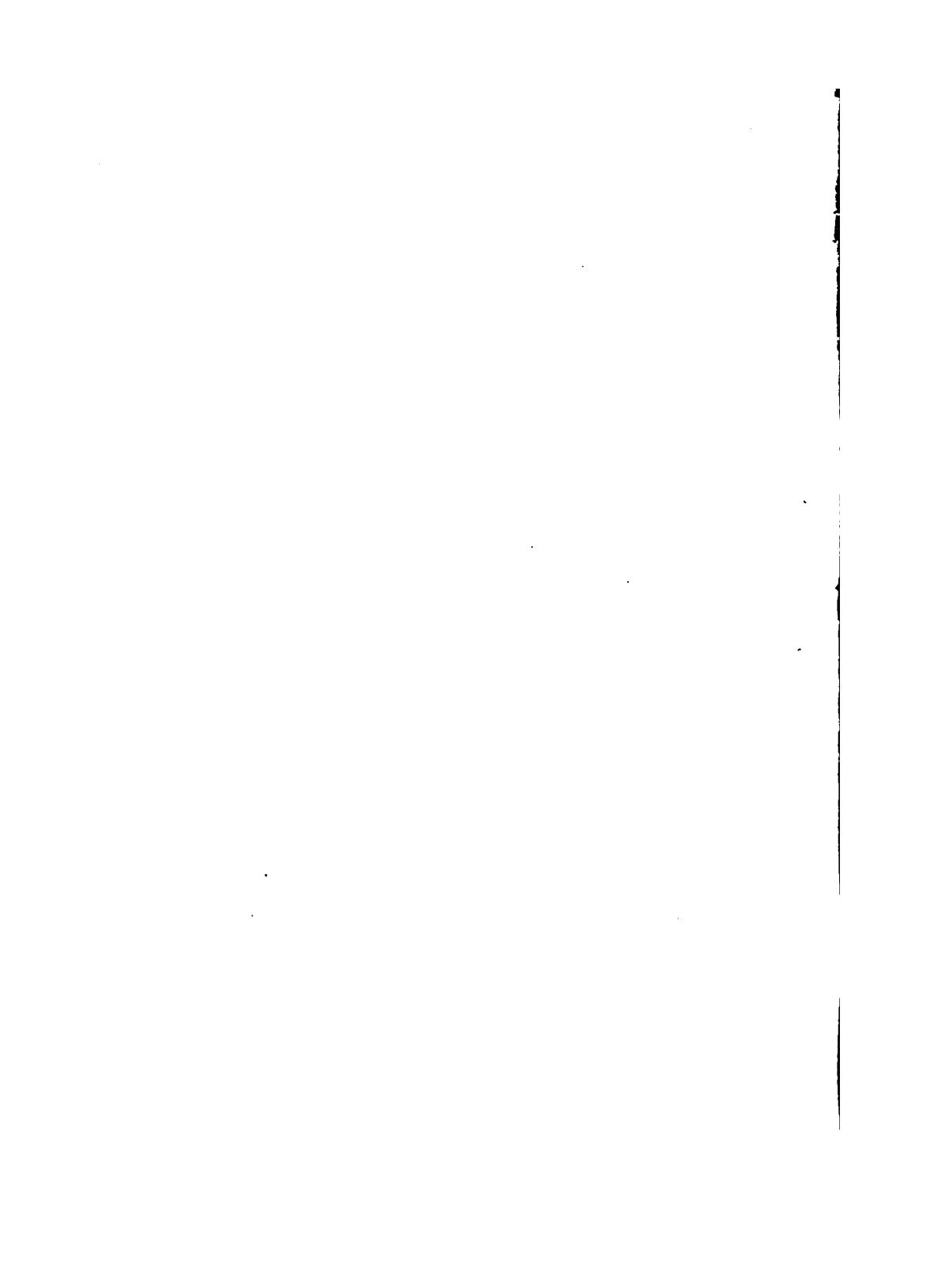
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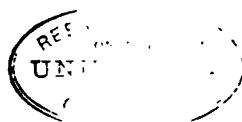
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BOOK FIFTH.

THE CITY OF ROME IN THE CAROLINGIAN
EPOCH UP TO THE YEAR 900.





HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

1. ALTERED ATTITUDE OF ROME TO THE WORLD—RELATIONS OF EMPEROR AND POPE TO ROME—LEO AGAIN JOURNEYS TO CHARLES—ARDULF OF NORTHUMBERLAND IN ROME.

CHARLES derived the title of his Empire from Rome, but the material which filled the ancient form had become essentially Teutonic ; and in calling the New Empire the Germanic-Roman we but give expression to the alliance of those opposing elements on which the development of Europe rested. One nationality continued the history of mankind as an unbroken inheritance ; it handed the possessions of the ancient civilization, together with the ideas of Christianity, on to posterity ;—the other received and resuscitated or developed both civilization and religion. Rome had drawn the German world to herself. The Roman Church had subdued barbarism, had brought nations under a social system, and lastly, had united them to a common ecclesiastical-political principle, which had

its seat in the Eternal City. On Byzantium now seemed to be laid the task of accomplishing the like work for the Slav nations ; the task, however, remained unfulfilled, because the Byzantine Empire lacked the creative social principle possessed by the Roman Church, and also because the Slav races, unfitted for the higher ideas of the State and of civilization, remained incapable of receiving the inheritance of Hellenic culture. The thought of a Slavic-Greek Empire still lingers in Russia, not, however, as the national object of an imperfect development, but rather as the consciousness of a neglected historic opportunity which it is now no longer possible to revive.

While Byzantium was thus banished from the history of the West, Rome for the second time entered on a splendid position among the nations of the world. After the Rome of the Cæsars had destroyed the political autonomy of nations, new States had arisen through the various migrations of the peoples, and the Church had proclaimed the moral equality of races, or their Christian citizenship. The ideal of a single and indivisible humanity, of the Christian republic, now appeared as the thought of a new age. The ancient capital of the restored Empire, the Apostolic centre of the Church, called herself the mother of Christian nations, and represented herself to the moral *Orbis Terrarum* as the *Civitas Dei*. The first imperfect outline of a society of nations united by means of a moral idea had been advanced, but this "Holy Empire" had yet to take form ; and the entire Middle Ages were, as even the present time is, nothing more than a continued struggle to

give a living form to the sublime Christian ideal of the love and liberty which encompass the world.

The city likewise received a new significance within the narrower circle of her history. Her escape from the repeated attacks of the barbarians, and her final rescue from the hands of Lombards and Greeks, was a fact of historic importance. After Pipin and Charles had put an end to the final struggle of the Germans for Rome, they drew a line round the emancipated city and made the Pope lord of all the territory within. The Frankish King, the new Emperor, vowed as overlord to defend this ecclesiastical State dedicated to S. Peter against all foes, within and without, for no prince or people could exclusively possess Rome—the common property of mankind. In a higher sense than ancient Rome, the Metropolis of Christendom represented a universal principle. She must, therefore, be free and accessible to all nations alike; the High Priest within her should be subject to no king, but the supreme head of the Empire and of the Church—that is to say, to the Emperor. It was this idea of Rome's neutrality as the ecclesiastical centre of nations, up to which the waves of humanity, ceaselessly stirred by political and social storms, should never advance, that succeeded in preserving the little State of the Church for the Pope until our own day, while Charles's great monarchy and a hundred kingdoms around fell to dust. Who can deny that the idea of a sacred metropolis, a temple of eternal peace in the midst of struggling humanity, a universal asylum of culture, of law, and of reconciliation is great and admirable?

Had the institution of the Papacy but remained devoid of ambition and worldly desire, had it escaped dogmatic stagnation, and advanced with the development of a widening life, with the social forces of the world and the discoveries of toil and culture, it would have constituted almost the highest cosmic form, in which mankind should have seen the expression of its unity and harmony. However, after the expiration of its first and most glorious period, the Papacy became the essentially retarding principle in the drama of history. The greatest idea latent in the Church never attained fulfilment ; but that it had once existed in the Papacy serves to make the Papacy the most venerable of all institutions which history has beheld, and that the city of Rome was the classic receptacle of this idea suffices to secure for her the everlasting love of mankind.

Rome for the second time became the legitimate source of the Empire. The great traditions of the Roman Empire as of the political order of the world, were there preserved ; Charles called himself therefore Emperor of the Romans since there was no other Empire than that, the origin and conception of which were allied with Rome. On this account the Byzantine rulers also continue to call themselves Roman Emperors. Rome, it is true, was politically a lifeless ruin, but the possession of the city by Charles was equal to the possession of a legal diploma, genuine and hallowed by antiquity. Nevertheless, the claim of Rome to be still the root of the Empire would have been nothing more than an antiquarian recollection had the Church not restored the conception of universality. By means of this idea Rome governed the

ancient provinces of the Cæsars before Charles received the Imperial crown, through which he again united these provinces in an Empire. The unity of the ancient Empire was based essentially upon Roman law, but in the new the like unity was attained by the code of ecclesiastical law. Hierarchical claims replaced the political rights which the city no longer possessed, and the Popes strove rapidly to remove the semblance of sovereignty which the Roman people had exercised on the occasion of Charles's election. They represented the German Cæsar as the vassal of the Church, the Empire as the emanation of the Divine Will ratified by the papal unction. Did the Romans of Charles's day but reflect on the dominion which their city exercised on the most distant countries by means of the system of the Church, by the universal application of the Roman Canon, by the introduction of the Latin tongue in schools, churches, synods, and secular transactions, and lastly, by the remains of classic learning and art, they must have acknowledged to themselves that, although widely different in nature, this dominion was scarcely inferior to the dominion of Trajan.

Meanwhile, Rome was only the ideal head of the Empire, circumstances fortunately for mankind never allowing the city to become again its political centre. Had it again attained this position, Empire and Papacy together would have formed an illimitable power, and Europe would have been swallowed in a hierarchical despotism more formidable than the ancient despotism of the Cæsars. Charles renounced the idea of making Rome the capital of his monarchy,

and this renunciation was one of the most momentous actions in the record of history. The independent development of the Western nations, and finally that of the Church, were thereby rendered possible. The forged donation of Constantine had truly anticipated the consequences in store for the Papacy, if the head of the Empire again made his residence in Rome. The most imminent danger threatened the Roman bishopric at the moment of the restoration of the Imperium, but happily for the bishopric the peril was averted. The opposition which existed between German and Roman elements divided for ever Imperial and papal power; and the antagonism between the two forces, which mutually curbed and limited one another, preserved the freedom of Europe. For, as the new Emperor was the product of the conquering energy of the German race, and the Pope a creation of Rome and the Latin race, it followed that these two national elements should further mould these two universal forces in themselves; that the North should develop the political, the South the spiritual institutions, Germany the Empire, Rome the Church. The West, according to Charles's design, was to have two centres, round which the great system of the Christian republic should revolve—the papal city and the Imperial city, Rome and Aachen; while he, the Emperor, was to remain sole head of the Universal Empire and the Church.¹

¹ Rome was called head and fortress of the Empire; thus the Diaconus Florus in his *querela de divisione Imperii post mortem Ludovici Pii* (*Dom. Bouquet*, vii. 302) exclaims:

*O fortunatum, nosset sua si bona, regnum,
Cujus Roma arx est.*

Inward opposition, however, and the force of German individuality, which opposed the sentiment of liberty and the obstinacy of individual independence to the Roman principles of authority and system, soon shattered Charles's fabric, and the Papacy rapidly fell from the pinnacle to which the pious monarch had raised it. The Germans struggled against Roman and Latin influences. In the city itself a violent conflict arose between civic aspirations and ecclesiastical immunities ; and the history of the two memorable centuries contained in this volume reveals the most glaring opposition in the life of Rome until the tenth century closes with that period when the Saxons raise the Papacy from the ruin into which it had fallen, and restore Charles's shattered system in a copy from which, however, the theocratic ideas have gradually disappeared before the Imperialism of ancient Rome.

Charles spent the winter following his coronation in Rome, dwelling not in the ancient Palatium, which he left to its decay, but in one of the episcopal buildings (which he converted into a palace) beside S. Peter's. All the Carolingians who came to Rome made their abode in this quarter, and here the Imperial Legate also dwelt. The distance of Germany, and the resolve not to make his residence in Rome, prevented Charles from building any new Imperial fortress. Had he built a palace of the kind, chroniclers would not have failed to mention and describe it, as they have described the palaces of Aachen and Ingelheim.¹

Charles
spends the
winter
(800-801)
in Rome.

¹ The palace beside S. Peter's is mentioned in *Regest. Farf.* n. 537 : *ad basil. b. Petri Ap. in palatio d. Karoli.* A diploma Ludov. II. A. 872 (*Chron. Farf.*) says : *Acta in civitate Roma, Palatio Imperatoris,*

He
regulates
civic
affairs.

His Legate
in Rome.

The Emperor set the affairs of Italy and the city in order. He tranquillised the city and made it subject to Imperial rule. He compelled the Romans to acknowledge the Pope as their territorial ruler, while, at the same time, as Imperial vassals (*homines imperiales*) they took the oath of fidelity and obedience to Charles. Nevertheless, the Imperial power existed only as a principle in Rome. In an age which although rude was far removed from the system of absolute monarchy, and especially under the curious twofold system of the political-ecclesiastical organisation, the restored Imperial power was not felt either in taxation or in forced military service, but, with the exception of a few royal prerogatives, found its sole expression in the administration of law as the highest conception of civil life. The Pope appointed his judges, but the Emperor was the supreme legal authority. This authority was represented by his Missus or Legate, who, as often as he was sent to Rome, lived at the expense of the papal chamber beside S. Peter's. Here, or in the Hall of the Lateran, known as "the Hall of the She-wolf," he held his sessions (*placita*).¹ He defended the Pope against

which corresponds to *Actum apud S. Petrum*. The *Libell. de Imp. Potes.* expressly says of the Imperial Missus: *morabatur quippe in palatio S. Petri.*

¹ *Libellus de Imperatoria Potestate in Urbe Roma: Inventum est, ut omnes maiores Roma essent imperiales homines, et ut suus missus omni tempore moraretur Roma.* The *Libellus*, compiled by an Imperialist about the year 950, disputes the claims of the Pope to territorial supremacy, and is the writing of a partisan. That Charles's Legate constantly resided in Rome is asserted only by this document. Ferd. Hirsch considers the assertion very questionable, since there were only

the attacks of the nobility, but at the same time watched over Imperial rights within the city. He presided at tribunals, appropriated the fines to the Fiscus, superintended the papal judges in the city and duchy, received appeals from the sentences of these judges and reported them to the Emperor. In important cases the Emperor sent an extraordinary Missus to Rome, and persons guilty of high treason, Roman nobles and bishops, were tried before one of these envoys, usually the Duke of Spoleto. The offenders were occasionally sent into exile beyond the Alps, as formerly under Byzantine rule they had been sent to some part of Greece. The Legate of the Emperor was, moreover, his plenipotentiary at the ordination of a Pope, a ceremony which the Legate was obliged to attend. For, although the papal election was free, the decree of election was apparently henceforward sent to the Emperor, and his sanction thus obtained.

Coins testify to the Emperor's supremacy over Rome and the ecclesiastical State. The type of the Roman coinage in its main features was evidently fixed between Charles and Leo the Third after the Imperial coronation. The Emperor now either recognised the Pope's right of coinage, or, together with the immunity with which he invested the Roman bishop, conceded him this right. Leo the Third, therefore, as evidence of his territorial supremacy, caused his own name to be engraved on one side of the Roman denarius; on

itinerant regal envoys in the provinces. (*Die Schenkung Kaiser Carl's des Kahls für Papst Johann VIII. und der Lib. de imp. pot. Forsch. z. deutsch Gesch. xx. 1880.*)

the other, however, the name of his overlord, the Emperor.¹ We thus find repeated almost the same relations as those which had existed between the Byzantine Imperial authority and the Gothic kings of Italy, who had the obverse of their coins engraved with the head of the Emperor, the reverse with their own. And as long as the Carolingian Empire retained its power, the essential Imperial rights in Rome, the highest legal authority and the recognition of the papal election were thus continually asserted.

If the political authority of the new Emperor is clear to us, the relation of the Pope as territorial ruler to the city remains somewhat obscure. We know nothing of the civic constitution of the time, and nothing of the liberties of the nobles (apparently adjusted by a stipulation) and their rights to a share in the temporal government; nothing of the regulation of justice, which lay primarily in the hands of the nobility, since the prelates had not yet monopolised the management of all secular concerns. The restoration of the Empire must necessarily have been followed by a municipal reorganisation of the city, which included a fresh division of the military districts and the regions. The silence of historians and of the archives, however, leaves us in ignorance on these questions.

Charles prudently did not allow himself to be dazzled by visions of conquest in the South. Had he but cherished that adventurous longing for the East

¹ S. PETRUS round the edge, in the field LEO PA—CARLUS round the edge, in the field IPA. For the type of Roman coins see my treatise “Die Münzen Alberichs,” *Sitzg. der b. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1885.

which later times have attributed to him, his arms might easily have extended the limits of the Western Empire to the Ionian Sea ; nor would the Byzantine fleet have sufficed to defend Greece. His mission, however, drew him instead to the North and West, where he had to seek the centre of gravity of his State. He therefore surrendered the kingdom of Italy to his son Pipin, made over to him the war with Benevento, and left Rome after Easter (April 25th, 801) to return to Germany. He was startled at Spoleto, on the last day of April, by an earthquake, the shock of which was felt as far as the Rhineland. Italy had to mourn the ruin of some cities, and in Rome several ancient buildings must have perished. Contemporary writers, however, scarcely bestow a glance on the monuments of antiquity ; while almost all, Germans as well as Italians, speak of the destruction of the roof of the basilica of S. Paul as of an important event.¹

Pipin,
King of
Italy, 801.

The Emperor went to Ravenna, thence to Pavia, the capital of the Italian kingdom, and there added some Chartularies to the code of Lombard laws. He herein styled himself "Charles, by the will of God, Ruler of the Empire of the Romans, most Serene Augustus," and added the consular title to his edicts.² The

Charles in
Ravenna,
801.

¹ *Lib. Pont.* in Leone III. c. 31. *Annal. Einh.* 801. *Annal. Fulb. Poeta Saxo, &c.* Galletti erroneously ascribed to Leo III. the inscription in the cloister of S. Paul's where Leo I. speaks of the falling-in and restoration of the basilica (*Inscr.* i. 21). Charles was in Bologna on May 29th, 801 : Sickel, *Regesten der Urkunden der ersten Carolinger*, Vienna, 1867, on this date.

² *Anno—consulatus autem nostri primo.* The Carolingians also noted the Post-consulate : *Imp. Dun. Aug. Hlodowico a Deo coronato magno pacifico Imp. a. sexto et PC. ejus a. sexto. . . .*

Byzantine Court was loud in indignation against both Franks and Romans. It saw its legitimate rights overthrown by a bold barbarian king, who assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans, a title which belonged to the heirs of Constantine alone. But the Frankish power was formidable, the weakness of the Byzantine great, and the tottering throne was still occupied by a woman. Irene, surrounded by rebels, sought Charles's friendship. She found herself almost reduced to the same extremities as those which had once compelled the Gothic Queen Amalasuntha to seek refuge with the foes of her race. The extravagant project of a marriage between Charles and the Empress, by which the Eastern and Western Empires should have been united in the Frankish dynasty, was impracticable. Charles, however, was anxious to have the respective claims and frontiers of Franks and Byzantines in Italy determined by treaty. He therefore received Irene's ambassadors, and sent his own to Constantinople. His envoys, however, only arrived at the Byzantine Court to witness the overthrow of the Empress. Nicephorus, previously Treasurer of the Palace, seized the purple in a bloodless revolution (31st October 802), and banished Irene to the Island of Lesbos. The usurper was no less anxious to conciliate the friendship of the hated Franks. He lent a willing ear to the ambassadors, and on their return sent ministers of his own back with them to Charles. After the execution of a treaty the ambassadors returned to Constantinople by way of Rome. The Pope also desired to see relations adjusted between the rival courts, in order to

Nice-
phorus,
Emperor of
Byzantium,
802.

avert the danger of a war ; and, since he sent his Legates to Constantinople, may not only have wished to effect a peace, but also to justify himself with regard to Charles's coronation. Concerning the difficult negotiations between Rome and Byzantium we are, however, entirely ignorant.

Impelled by urgent reasons, Leo the Third under-
took another journey to Charles in 804. The Pope must have already suffered various acts of interference on the part of the King of Italy in the property of the Church, must have been irritated by the authoritative attitude assumed by the Imperial envoys towards the papal duces in the Pentapolis. The demeanour of the Romans must also have given him cause for anxiety.¹ When, in the middle of November, the Emperor heard of the Pope's journey, he sent his son Charles to receive him at S. Maurice; he himself went to meet Leo at Rheims.

Together they celebrated Christmas at Kiersey, and Charles afterwards conducted his guest to Aachen. Here he dismissed him laden with gifts, and commanded some of his nobles to escort him through Bavaria on his way to Ravenna. In January Leo was again in Rome. He had not attained all his desires ; for the dispute concerning the frontiers of his property, or those between Imperial supremacy and the papal territorial power remained to be the sub-

¹ Leo's letters of this year have not been preserved. Of his ten letters (Cenni, *Monum.* ii.) the first belongs to the year 806, in the succeeding we find the complaints which have been noted. With regard to the Pope's journey : *Annales Einh.*, *Fuld.*, *Amandi*, *Juvav.*, *Lauriss.*

ject of lasting dissensions, while the exorbitant demands of S. Peter awoke the indignation of the youthful Pipin. These demands interfered with the realisation of Pipin's own design, that of founding a powerful Italian kingdom; and even if not sufficiently far-sighted to detect the seeds of the lasting disunion of this country which lay concealed within his ancestor's donation, Pipin probably already deplored that ancestor's generosity.

Charles's
division
of the
Empire,
806.

In 806 Pipin received fresh confirmation in his Italian kingdom. Charles, advancing in years, recognised the impossibility of preserving the unity of his vast kingdom under one sceptre. He feared a quarrel between his heirs, and unfortunately decided to divide the monarchy between his three sons. He did honour to the Pope in sending the deed of partition to Rome that it might receive the Church's sanction.¹ In consequence of this deed, Pipin announced his approaching visit. He did not come, but another king appeared in his place. Ardulf of Northumberland, driven by a powerful party from his throne and kingdom in 808, fled to Charles's court at Nimwegen to implore the Frankish monarch to aid in his restoration. With Charles's consent he hastened to Rome to beg the support of the Pope. Leo sent the Saxon Adolf, his deacon and nuncio, to escort the fugitive back to England, where two Imperial Legates succeeded in placing the prince again upon the throne.² Rome, it

¹ *Annal. Einh. ad A. 806: divisio Imperii* in the Capitular. *Mon. Germ.* iii. 140. Muratori shows from this that Modena, Reggio, Parma, Piacenza belonged to the kingdom of Italy, and not to the Exarchate.

² *Annal. Einh. and Fuld. ad A. 808*; Leo's Letters, 5, 6, 7, in Cenni.

is true, had already beheld kings, more especially from the British Isles, come to take the cowl. Ardulf was, however, the first to sue in the Lateran for the restoration of the crown of which he had been deprived. The instance shows the views which were arising in the West concerning papal authority. And since, after Pipin's days, it was kings themselves who, for the sake of temporal advantage, exalted the conception of the Roman episcopate in the eyes of peoples and princes, we cannot be surprised that these bishops, renouncing the idea of spiritual intercession, soon arrogated to themselves the divine power of giving and removing crowns.

2. **DEATH OF PIPIN, 810—BERNHARD, KING OF ITALY—LEWIS I. CROWNED AT AACHEN AS CO-EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS—DEATH OF CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS IMPORTANCE IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY—DEARTH OF LOCAL TRADITIONS CONCERNING HIM IN ROME.**

The house of Charles, the fate of which is so closely interwoven with the history of the city, was scarcely less unfortunate than the house of Augustus. The founder of a new Imperial dynasty saw his favourite children snatched away during his life-time. Pipin, Death of King Pipin, July 8, 810. thirty-two years of age, died in Milan on July 8th, 810. His scheme for uniting Italy by the conquest of Venetia and Benevento remained unfulfilled, and his death-bed was harassed by anxiety for the future of his only and illegitimate son. Charles nominated the youthful Bernhard King of Italy. The formal in-

Death of
Charles
the Great,
Jan. 28th,
814.

Charles the Great, sage and hero, died a few months later at Aachen, on January 28th, 814, at the age of seventy-one. The restorer of the Roman Empire was buried in the Church of S. Maria which he had built, and an ancient Roman sarcophagus, chiselled with the Rape of Proserpine, apparently served as his coffin.¹ If we compare one with another, the three periods of Roman history which will ever stand conspicuous as summits in the life of the people—the period of Cæsar and Augustus, when the Roman world-monarchy was founded; that of Constantine, when Christianity rose to dominion; and finally, the age of Charles, when the system of Germanic-Roman civilization arose out of the ruin of the old Empire—we shall find that the third does not yield in importance to either of the other two. Charles's age was fertile in new forms of life, and truly creative. It closed the period of barbarian migrations and reconciled the Germans with Rome. It did not allow antiquity—the buried treasure-chamber of knowledge and culture—to be lost to impoverished humanity; but, laying prejudice aside, began to revivify it and adopt it as an essential and imperishable force in the process of intellectual development. The great tradition of the *Orbis Terrarum*, or of the unity of the world, formerly the political end and aim of the Roman Empire of the Cæsars, which arose temporarily with Christianity, was revived in the age of Charles the Great. This age transformed the

¹ In such a marble sarcophagus the body of Charles was discovered in the year 1165, during the reign of Frederick I. Simson, *Jahrb. d. Fränk. Reichs unter Karl dem Grossen*, ii. 537.

ancient Imperium into the Western monarchy, which found its inmost bond of cohesion in the principle of the Christian religion. Charles was the Moses of the Middle Ages, who successfully led mankind through the deserts of barbarism and bestowed on them a new code of political, ecclesiastical, and civil constitutions. In his theocratic Empire was exhibited the first attempt to establish the new federation of nations in the form of a Christian republic.

The Emperor bequeathed a portion of his treasures to the twenty-one metropolitan churches of the Empire. Five of these churches were in Italy: Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Aquileia, and Grado. Two silver tables—one square, and adorned with a relief of Constantinople; the other round, with a representation of Rome—formed part of the curiosities of the Imperial palace. The former of these tables Charles presented to S. Peter's, the latter to Ravenna. Both monuments of early mediæval art have perished. The table presented to Rome remains unnoticed in the life of Leo the Third, although the *Liber Pontificalis* makes frequent mention of a large golden cross, another of the Emperor's votive gifts. The table, however, with the relief of Rome, which, following the instructions of his father's will, the Emperor Lewis sent to the Archbishop Martin, reached Ravenna during the boyhood of Agnellus, and was seen by the historian.¹

¹ Agnellus, *Vita Martini*, c. 2: *mensam argenteam unam absque ligno, habentem infra se anaglyphe totam Romanam*. Eginh. *Vita*, at the end: *decrevit, ut una ex his, que forma quadrangula, description. urbis Constantin. continet Romanam ad bas b. Petri ap. deferatur, et altora*

Rome received a further bequest of valuable vessels, and thus Charles, who had endowed the Church with so many privileges, such vast possessions, and so much gold and silver, was more liberal than any ruler of either earlier or later times. He was the true founder of the ecclesiastical State, and of the power of the Popes, of whose later illimitable expansion, however, he never even dreamed. For, although the devout son of the Church, which he recognised as the strongest bond of his Empire and the divine principle of human civilization, he in no wise blindly surrendered himself to her service. He respected the immunity, which he himself had established, of the Metropolitan of Rome, but never forgot that he was ruler of the entire monarchy. His people regarded him as the chief director of all ecclesiastical affairs; he founded bishoprics and convents; he issued canonical regulations; he instituted schools for the people, and by embodying the constitutions of the Church in his code, gave these constitutions his supreme ratification. Both episcopate and synods stood at the same time under his determining influence.

The grateful Church later invested him with the nimbus of saintship.¹ Her struggles with the Hohen-

qua forma rotunda, Romane urbis effigie decorata est, episcopio Rennatis. . . . conferatur. A third silver table, which represented the world (*minuta figurazione*), consisted of three parts, probably corresponding to the three divisions of the earth. De Rossi (*Piante iconografiche di Roma*, p. 73) believes that these graphic representations did not belong to this century, but perhaps to the time of the *Notitia utriusque imperii*.

² Paschal III., anti-pope in the time of Alexander III., at Barbarossa's wish canonised Charles, and the beatification was ratified by

staufens reminded her of the fact that the great monarch had been the pious founder of the ecclesiastical State, and the Crusades revived the memory of the Christian hero in the minds of men. Like Octavian or Cæsar, he had become mythical; and it was reserved for a Pope from the south of France, Calixtus the Second, in 1122, to pronounce genuine Turpin's celebrated history of the life of Charles and Roland, of which the Pope himself may possibly have been the author. The rapidity with which the figure of Charles was lost in myth is shown by a chronicler, who, writing his barbarous annals in the monastery of Soracte before the end of the tenth century, already related the story of the monarch's expedition to the Holy Sepulchre. And as it is scarcely likely that the monk himself invented the fable, but more probably received it as an already accepted tradition, we may venture to place its origin yet half a century earlier. Meanwhile, as the Charles of history had never become nationalised in Rome, neither did the Charles of legend. A stranger like Theodoric the Great, although a Roman Emperor, his figure was never associated with any place or building in the city, and he consequently faded from the memory of the Romans. It is worthy of remark that not a single word in the *Mirabilia* recalls the memory of Charles the Great.

Gregory IX. The Zürich city-library still possesses the decree of Bishop Eberhard of Constance, dated 22 February 1272, which commands the celebration of the festival of Charles.

3. TUMULTS IN ROME—BERNHARD SENT TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES—DEATH OF LEO III., 816—HIS BUILDINGS IN ROME—CHARACTER OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE AND ART—THE TITULAR CHURCHES AND THE PRINCIPAL CONVENTS.

Insurrec-
tion in
Rome
against
Leo the
Third, 814.

With the news of Charles's death the Pope saw an abyss open at his very feet. Scarcely were the Romans aware that the great ruler was dead, when they gave vent to their hatred against the civil power of the Bishop. Did we attempt to enumerate the successive revolutions which the ecclesiastical State endured from the time of its foundation in its more than thousand years' course, we should stand bewildered by the number. Half of these insurrections would have more than sufficed utterly to overwhelm the greatest earthly kingdom. Nevertheless, although rebellion against the power of the bishop dated from the hour that witnessed its birth—a proof not only that an irreconcilable contradiction was involved in the union of priesthood with royalty, but also that the very existence of the ecclesiastical State maintained within itself a principle fully able to cope with revolutions—the State of the Church has survived until our own days.

The followers of Campulus and Paschalis (both men had been forgotten in their fourteen years' exile) had conspired against the Pope. Their aims were, however, discovered, and Leo had these offenders promptly executed as guilty of high treason. The holy bishop was thus henceforward obliged to steep

his hands in the blood of his own Romans. The news of the executions excited the indignation of even Charles's pious successor. The Emperor Lewis blamed the Pope for having acted with such haste and severity. And since it was the Emperor's duty to defend the Romans when there was any question of their privileges being violated, he considered that his Imperial rights had been infringed by the Papal sentence being pronounced upon Roman nobles without any intervention on the part of his Legates.¹ He therefore sent the King of Italy to Rome to institute inquiries. Bernhard fell ill on his arrival. Count Gerold, however, informed the Emperor of the result of his observations. The Pope now hastened to justify himself to the suzerain of Rome. His Legates strove to exonerate him from the charges which Bernhard possibly, and the Romans undoubtedly, had brought before the Imperial throne. The indignation in the city was great, and in the same year (815) the enemies of Leo rose; while the Pope, agitated by these occurrences, lay seriously ill. The ^{Another rebellion, 815.} insurgents burnt the papal farmsteads, not only such as had been founded by Leo, but those also of earlier date.² The scenes of disturbance were generally

¹ *Annal. Fuld. A. 815*: *Roma quidam primores in necem Leonis P. conspirantes interficiuntur. Astron., Vita Ludov. c. 25: perlatum est Imperatori, quod Romanor. aliqui potentes contra Leonem apostol. pravas inierint coniurationes, quos . . . supplicio addixerit capitali, lega Romanor. in id conspirante. Annal. Einh. A. 815.*

² Astronom c. 26 knows of Domusculæ of Leo III.: *pradæ omnia, qua illæ domocultæ appellant, et novi ab eod. apostolica instituta erant.* According to *Annal. Einh.* these farms were situated in singular. *civitatum territoriis.*

outside the city ; the Roman nobles armed the coloni or slaves on their estates, stirred up the towns in the neighbourhood, and threatened to march on Rome, in order to compel the Pope to surrender the property which he had confiscated from them or their friends beheaded by his orders, and appropriated to the benefit of the Apostolic exchequer. The growing power of the Roman nobility (a power destined in later times to become so formidable) first becomes apparent in this revolt. Bernhard sent Duke Winigis of Spoleto to Rome with troops to quell the rebellion. The Pope meanwhile died in great distress on June 11th, 816.

Death of
Leo the
Third,
June 11th,
816.

Leo had occupied S. Peter's Chair for more than twenty years—a period fertile in great events, and during which, as priest of Humanity, he had inaugurated a new epoch in its history. Hated by the Romans because he had seized on the temporal power within the city, maltreated almost to death, reduced to flight, restored to power, kept in perpetual terror by repeated disturbances, he was not defeated by his adversaries. His was a powerful nature, capable of shrewd reasoning and bold views. The brief moment in which he crowned the new Emperor of the West in S. Peter's made him the instrument of the history of the world, and assured him an undying renown.¹

Buildings
in Rome
in the time
of Leo the
Third.

In the number and extent of his buildings in the city Leo the Third almost outrivalled Adrian.

¹ The Church canonised him ; it added his ashes to those of Leo I. II. and IV., which remain in an ancient Christian sarcophagus under the altar of Leo I., in the Chapel of the Madonna della Colonna. Above is Algardi's relief, and the names of the Popes are inscribed on the pavement.

Ecclesiastical Rome was restored in the Carolingian time—its second monumental period, if the age of Constantine be accepted as its first. And since the Popes of these times built so largely, they must necessarily be regarded as the chief destroyers of the ancient city. Architecture was in a state of constant activity. Abiding by the traditions of the Church, whose greatest buildings had been erected in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, it could no longer attain to the greatest of its models, but instead showed itself capable of nothing more than reproducing on a smaller scale the buildings of earlier days. Columns and ornaments of ancient buildings were appropriated; the New was entirely constructed from out the Old. Hence the era of the Carolingians left behind it many splendidly restored churches, but no independent monument of any importance in Rome. With the ancient basilicas as models, architecture attained a certain height; but the countless number of churches and convents rendered the execution of great designs impossible. A certain littleness is therefore everywhere perceptible in buildings of the period. The brick decoration of friezes below the roofs, the composition of the usually small towers with arched windows (*camerae*) divided by columns, the ornamentation of the tower-façades with round plates of various coloured marbles, the stunted porticoes with their tiny columns and mosaic friezes, adorned here and there with medallions also in mosaic, all give evidence of a lowered standard of design.¹

¹ Such appears to me the character of all the churches belonging to

In employing Roman architects in the restoration of the basilica of S. Apollinaris at Ravenna, Leo may have been actuated either by a feeling of national pride or by a desire to give employment to his fellow-citizens. It by no means follows that Roman workmen had attained any special renown, such as the natives of Como had previously acquired.¹ Nevertheless, the continued activity in Rome must have fostered greater artistic talent than was to be found in any other city of Italy. The biographer of Leo the Third conscientiously enumerates all the ecclesiastical buildings which Rome owes to this Pope. With his chief monument in the Lateran, the Triclinium, we are already acquainted. Leo also enlarged or embellished the papal palace, and built an oratory to the Archangel. He restored the celebrated baptistery of Damasus in S. Peter's, preserving, or imparting to it, its circular form.² He rebuilt the oratory of the Cross, a foundation of Symmachus, and adorned it with mosaics. He decorated the shrine with lavish splendour, placed gold and silver statues of the Apostles and Cherubim on silver pedestals, and inlaid the pavement with additional plates of gold. Further, and the fact deserves mention, he

the Carolingian period. S. Maria in Cosmedin, Francesca Romana, Nero and Achilles, the tower of S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Domnica.

¹ Agnellus, *Vita Martini*, c. 1 : *Leo R. E. et Urbis Antistes misit cubicular. suum nom. Chrysaphum et reliquos camentarios, restauravit tecta B. Apollinaris.* The care of the Pope for the basilicas in the country districts is mentioned for the first time in the life of Leo III., a proof of the extended relations of Rome. Leo restored churches in Velletri, Praeneste, Albano, Portus, Ostia, Tibur, in the Sabina.

² *Lib. Pont. Vita Leonis III. c. 65.*

placed two silver shields engraved with the words of the Apostolic Creed at each side of the tomb of the Apostle in S. Peter's, as well as in S. Paul's. No objection was yet raised to the Greek Confession of Faith. Leo also built episcopal dwellings beside S. Peter's, and there erected a beautiful triclinium, the floor of which was inlaid with variegated marbles.¹ He restored the tower of S. Peter, and erected a splendid circular bath-house for the use of pilgrims near the obelisk, which after a long interval of silence suddenly emerges as the Columna Major or great column.² Another ancient name also reappears. Leo founded a hospital at the spot called Naumachia. This hospital stood beside the Vatican, and was dedicated to S. Peregrinus, a Roman priest who had suffered martyrdom in Gaul in the second century. Owing to his name he became the patron of pilgrims (*peregrini*), who flocked to Rome in vast numbers, especially from ancient Gaul. The present little church of S. Pellegrino, beside the Porta Angelica, serves to recall Leo's foundation on the same spot ; and since the district was called Naumachia, it follows that here the Naumachia of Domitian must have stood in ancient days.³

¹ *Et in pavimento marmoriis exempla stratis* (c. 27). There were several buildings beside S. Peter's : *cum ceteris amplis adiiciis, tam in ascensu scale, quamque post ipsum triclinium*. I think that this was in Charles's palace.

² *Facit et ubi supra juxta columnam majorem balneum* (c. 89). The word *agutia* was not yet in use for the obelisk.

³ *In loco, qui Naumachia dicatur* (c. 80, 81). The *Mirabilia* mention the *sepulcrum Romuli* in the Naumachia, consequently the entire space between the Vatican and S. Angelo must have borne the name. *Cod.*

Near S. Peter's, Leo restored the monastery of the proto-martyr Stephen, also the neighbouring convent of S. Martin.

One of the oldest titular churches, that of S.S. Nereus and Achilleus (Fasciola) on the Via Appia, having been destroyed by inundations, was now rebuilt by Leo on higher ground. With a few alterations the church retains its ancient form, that of a small basilica with three naves. It is of harmonious proportions, but of its mosaics nothing beyond some fragments remain.¹ Judging from the catalogue of Leo's buildings, scarcely a single church escaped restoration at his hands, and the innumerable gifts of vessels and draperies testify to the wealth of the Lateran treasury. The love of splendour, conspicuous in the ancient Romans, seemed to be revived in the Popes. If we except some paintings on glass and miniatures in manuscripts, mosaic would appear to have been the form of art chiefly cultivated in Leo's time; and under the frequently recurring expression "Pictura" we may boldly assume that mosaic was more especially understood. The art of casting in bronze, silver and gold was diligently practised, and

Laurent. xxxv. : *In Naumachia est sepulcrum romuli et vocatur sei-
patri.* The *Anon. Magliab.* (xxviii. Cod. 53) thus speaks of the
Leonine city : *civitas qua dicitur in Almachia.* The earliest mention
of the Naumachia is that in the life of Leo; hence the spot must be
fixed there. The name Dalmachia is first found in a bull of Leo IX,
Tomassetti, "Della Campagna Rom." (*Arch. d. soc. Rom.* iv. 363).

¹ The church owes its preservation to its Cardinal Baronius. In an inscription there he admonishes posterity to refrain from modernising it. After the Rococo-period had destroyed the character of the Middle Ages, the churches experienced a new method of restoration, which we may call the drawing-room style.

innumerable statues were produced by this means. The arts of chasing in silver and working in niello were also cultivated. No statue of the period has come down to us. That figures in wood painted in colours and clad in draperies had, however, already been adopted in the churches can scarcely be doubted.

Out of the catalogue of Leo's foundations it is not unimportant to enumerate the names of those titular churches, diaconates and convents which Rome counted at this time, more particularly as centuries must elapse before another opportunity is afforded us to make the list with like completeness. It appears that there were twenty-four churches which gave the title of presbyter : Aemiliana, Anastasia, Aquila and ^{The} Prisca ; Balbina ; Calisto or S. Maria in Trastevere ; ^{Presbyter} Cecilia, Chrysogonus, Clemens, Cyriacus, Eusebius ; ^{Churches} in the time of Leo the Lorenzo in Lucina, Lorenzo in Damaso ; Marcellus ; ^{Third.} Marcus ; Nereus and Achilleus ; Pammachius ; Praxedis, Pudens ; Quatuor Coronatorum ; Sabina ; Sylvester and Martinus ; Sixtus, Susanna, Vitalis.¹

Of diaconates the following are named :—

Adrianus, Agatha, Archangelus² ; Bonifacius on ^{The} ^{Diacon-}ates. the Aventine ; Cosma and Damianus ; Eustachius ;

¹ The Synod of 499 mentions twenty-eight titulants ; that of Gregory I. twenty-four, but S. Apostoli appears instead of the Aemiliana, and S. Anastasia is omitted. L. Duchesne, *Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies* (*Ecole Franc.* 1887, p. 220). According to the *Laurentian Codex*, Plut. 89, in the twelfth or thirteenth century there were twenty-eight titulants, which correspond with the *Lateran Codex* in Crescimbeni, *Ist. di S. Giov. xx. P. Latina*, p. 369.

² Vignoli holds it to be S. Abbacyrus in Septimo. It can, however, only be S. Angelo in Pescaria, which existed in the time of Leo III.



Georgius ; Lucia in *septem viis*, that is in Septizonio, or *ad septem solia* ; Lucia *juxta Orpheo* ; S. Maria Antiqua (the present S. Francesca Romana) ; further, the churches of S. Maria in Adrianio, in Cosmedin, in Cyro or Aquiro, in Domnica, in Via Lata, outside S. Peter's gate ; Sergius and Bacchus ; Sylvester and Martinus by S. Peter's ; Theodorus, Vitus in Macello.¹

The Convents.

More than forty convents are already named, and the number existing was still greater.

Five stood near S. Peter's—*i.e.* Stephanus Major or Proto-martyr, also Catagalla Patriitia, Stephanus Minor ; John and Paul ; Martin, and the convent of Jerusalem.²

Near the Lateran are mentioned :—Pancratius, Andreas and Bartholomæus, with the surname Honori ; Stephanus, and the nunnery of Sergius and Bacchus.³

Near S. Maria Maggiore, Andreas, also called Catabarbara Patriitia (perhaps identical with Andreas in Massa Juliana) ; Cosma and Damianus ; Hadrian-

¹ All these diaconates are found again in the Florentine Codex, except Sylvester and Martinus, S. Maria at S. Peter's gate, and in Adrianio ; it also mentions S. Nicolai in *carcere Tulliano*, a diaconate which is absent from Crescimbeni. He has accordingly the eighteen later diaconates.

² They are thus also specified as *monasteria quinque constituta juxta magnam Ecclesiam S. Petri*. *Bull. of Joh. XIX. A. 1024. Bullar. Vatican*, i. 17.

³ Andrew and Bartholomew is the present well-known hospital. The *Vita Pashalis I.*, n. 442, mentions Sergius and Bacchus : *post formam aqueductus Patriarchii Lateran. positum*. I no longer find mentioned the ancient Benedictine monastery at the Lateran, which was again restored by Gregory III.

us, also S. Laurentii. These also bore the surname "ad Præsepe."

Near S. Paul, without the gate, stood the convent Cæsarius and Stephanus with the name "ad quatuor augulos,"¹ close to S. Lorenzo that of Stephen and Cassian.

Other Roman convents were :—

Agatha super Suburram; Agnes outside the Porta Nomentana; Agapitus by the titular Eudoxia; Anastasius ad Aquas Salvias; Andreas on the Clivus Scauri; Andreas near the Santi Apostoli; Bibiana; Chrysogonus in Trastevere; a convent on the Caput Africæ; the convent de Corsas or Cæsarii on the Via Appia; the convent de Sardas, probably near S. Vito²; Donatus near S. Prisca on the Aventine; Erasmus on the Coelian; Eugenia outside the Latin gate; Euphemia and Archangelus near Sancta Pudentiana; the convent duo Furna, probably in Agone, on the Navona; Isidorus, perhaps on the Pincian; John on the Aventine; the convent de Lutara³; Laurentius Pallacini beside San Marco; Lucia Renati, in Renatis, or de Serenatis;⁴ Maria

¹ This surname is found in a document *A. 967, Cod. Sublac.* of the Sessorian. *Bibl. ccxvii. p. 142.*

² These two convents prove the existence of a colony of Corsicans and Sardinians in Rome. *Vita Leon IV. n. 507: Mon. Corsarum juxta basil. b. Sixti Martyris*; Vignoli holds it to be S. Cæsarius in Palatio. *Vita Leon III. n. 406: in Oratorio S. Viti quod ponitur in Monast. quod appellatur de Sardas.* *Vita Leon IV. n. 499: vicus qui nuncupatur Sardorum*: the same street is designated n. 541: *milliario ab urbe R. trigesimo.* It points to a colony of Sardinians in the Campagna.

³ Martinelli and Vignoli misplace it on the Carinæ; the latter holds it to be S. Mariæ Purificationis near S. Pietro ad Vincula.

⁴ Mentioned in Muratori, *Antiq. v. 772, and Bullar. Casin. ii. const.*

Ambrosii, probably the same as that called Ambrosii de Maxima in the Forum Piscarium ; Maria Juliæ on the island in the Tiber ; the nunnery of Maria in Campo Marzo, and the convent Maria in Capitolio, although not mentioned in the catalogue of Leo the Third's foundations, were undoubtedly already founded. S. Michael, unknown ; the convent Tempuli¹, Sylvester (de Capite) ; S. Saba or Cella Nova; Semitrii, unknown ; Victor beside S. Pancratius on the Via Aurelia.

The twenty Abbeys of Rome which later rose conspicuous out of the great multitude of convents had not yet been established. The number of convents was continually on the increase, and at the end of the tenth century it was asserted that there were twenty nunneries, forty monasteries and sixty similar institutions for canons or such clergy as lived subject to cloistral rule.²

112 and 150. Armellini (*Le chiese di Roma*, p. 320) looks for it near the Trofei di Mario.

¹ Also in the *Ordo Rom.* xii. (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 206) : *Monasterio Tempoli* ; according to Torrigius (*Imagines di M. Vergine di S. Sisto e Dom.*) it stood in Trastevere ; according to Mammachio (*Annal. Ord. Pred.* i. 557) near S. Balbina on the Via Appia.

² Arnoldus de S. Emmerammo lib. ii. c. 54 (*Mon. Germ.* vi.). With regard to the twenty later Abbeys of Rome see *Ordo* xi. in *Mabill.* ii. 160.

4. STEPHEN IV., POPE — HIS JOURNEY TO LEWIS—
HIS SUDDEN DEATH—ELECTION AND ORDINATION
OF PASCHALIS I.—THE PRIVILEGIUM OF LEWIS.

After an interval of only ten days, an illustrious Stephen Roman, the Deacon Stephen, son of Marinus, was elected Pope without intervention on the part of the Emperor. Stephen hastened, however, to inform the suzerain of Rome of his loyalty. He caused the Romans to swear fidelity to the Emperor, and sent messengers to Lewis to justify both himself and the citizens for the haste of his election.¹ The first instance of a change of pontiff after the restoration of the Empire gives rise to several questions concerning the relations between the Pope and the Emperor. It caused Stephen the Fourth himself to undertake a journey to France. The disturbances which had taken place in Rome, the discontent of the nobility, the necessity of settling the question by a new act of ratification, we may also add the desire of anointing the already crowned Lewis, and of having the coronation ceremony established as a papal right no longer to be evaded, were the motives which impelled the Pope to undertake the journey. Stephen's attitude towards Lewis was altogether different to the attitude of Leo the Third towards Charles. If in the popular

¹ *Qui statim—jussit omnem pop. Rom. fidelitatem cum juramento promittere Hludowico.* Thegan., *Vita Lud.* c. 16. A proof of the Imperial sovereignty over Rome. *Premisit tamen legationem, qua super ordinatione ejus imperatori satisficeret.* Astron., *Vita*, c. 26. A proof that Charles already claimed the right of ratifying the Papal election ; the right, however, had not yet become law.

The
spurious
Diploma
of Lewis
the Pious.

archives of the Church carefully treasured the series of Imperial diplomas which had gradually accumulated. Those of the Lateran already contained the great diplomas of Pipin, Charles and Lewis, deeds of gift, confirmations of old and new immunities, and other treaties between the Emperor and the Roman Church. The value of these parchments to the historian, were they still extant and accessible, would be absolutely priceless. To these documents was added in 817 the diploma of Lewis the Pious, doubtless a renewal of the earlier deed given by his Chancellor to Pope Stephen in the previous year.¹ This document in later times attained a great importance. Its contents were falsified, and having been exalted to the same level with the donation of Pipin, it was regarded as a donation of greatly enlarged extent, and from it new and vast possessions were derived for the papal chair as important rights.

Only to mention the most striking points, in addition to the dominion over Rome and the Duchy, in addition to the ratification of the donations of Pipin and Charles, Lewis the Pious was represented as having given the Pope the patrimonies of Calabria and Naples, and even entire possession of the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. Lastly, complete liberty in the election and ordination of the Pope was accorded to the Romans without any previous sanction of the Emperor. History, however, refutes this fiction, showing by its facts that the Emperors

¹ Astron.: *Theodorus nomenclator—negotis peracto, et petitio impetratis super confirmatione scilicet pacti et amicitiae more prædecessorum suorum, reversus est.*

still retained sovereignty over Rome. It also proves that at this period the Greeks retained possession of Calabria and Naples, of Sicily and Sardinia; and while the Byzantine government was at peace with the Western Emperor,—the limits of their respective territories being recognised as established by treaty,—we can scarcely suppose that the Emperor would have violated the existing harmony to endow S. Peter with great estates which were his neither by title nor actual possession.¹

Lastly, the asserted liberty of papal ordination is refuted by a celebrated deed under Eugenius the Second.

Of the deed of Lewis there is not a single syllable in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The diplomas of Otto the First and Henry the Second, which the Church regards as among her most valuable deeds of gift and ratification, and which in the series of such deeds follow that of Lewis, although referring by name to the dona-

¹ *Patrimon. Beneventan. et Salernitan. et patrimon. Calabrie inferioris, et super et patrim. Neopolitanum.* During the Iconoclastic dispute Byzantium seized the patrimonies in Southern Italy. The Franks had no possessions in this part of the country. There is no mention whatever of Benevento in Charles's will. *Insulas Corsicam, Sardiniam, et Siciliam sub integritate.* Ep. 4, Leonis III. mentions a donation of Corsica by Charles; it can, however, only have referred to some ecclesiastical property on the island. From this source and from a diploma of Lewis the Pious, the Popes derived their claims to Corsica. They had formerly possessed large estates in Sicily and Sardinia. These they reclaimed from the Greek Emperors. Nicholas I. wrote to Michael: *Calabritanum patrimon. et Siculum, quaque nostra eccl. concessa fuerunt—vestris concessionib. reddantur* (Labbé, ix. 1296). He was therefore unacquainted with the donation of Lewis, and only thought of ancient patrimonies. Even the diplomas of Otto I. and Henry I. are only acquainted with the *patrimon. Siciliae*.

CHAPTER III.

1. OCTAVIANUS SUCCEEDS ALBERIC IN THE GOVERNMENT
—HE BECOMES POPE AS JOHN XII. 955— HIS EXCESSES—HE FORSAKES HIS FATHER'S POLICY—HE UNITES WITH THE LOMBARDS IN SUMMONING OTTO I. TO ROME—OTTO'S TREATY WITH THE POPE—HIS OATH—THE IMPERIAL CORONATION, FEBRUARY 2ND, 962—CHARACTER OF THE NEW ROMAN IMPERIUM OF THE GERMAN NATION.

Octavian,
Princeps
of the
Romans,
954.

THE youthful Octavian, son of Alberic by Alda, was recognised without opposition as Princeps and Senator of all the Romans on his father's death.¹ The young ruler continued the temporal government of his father according to the accustomed forms. No Roman coins of this period have come down to us, but undoubtedly Octavian must have had coins engraved with his name and his title of Princeps. He was little more than sixteen years old when he was called to government. In his pride and ambition Alberic had bestowed the name of Octavian on the boy, thus perhaps giving expression to the audacious hope that his race might

¹ The barbarous Benedict of Soracte says: *geniut autem ex his principem ex concubinam filium, imposuit eis nomen Octavianus* (c. 34); and he had previously spoken of *regibus Langobardorum*, by which he could only have meant Hugo. Even Alda must be a concubine, these chroniclers treating women simply as courtesans.

rise to Imperial greatness. In this hope he was deceived. Even during the pontificate of Agapitus, the papal claims had found an increased number of adherents, and the German power in the distance had assumed threatening proportions. Alberic himself destined the papal crown for his son; he intended that under this son the temporal power should be reunited to the Papacy, and he thus drew Roman history back into its ancient path.

Agapitus, dying in the autumn of 955, the young Octavian Princeps of the Romans actually became Pope in the ^{as Pope;} course of a year.¹ We are not informed by any historian except the chronicler of Soracte that he had the advantage of a clerical education, nor do we know whether, previous to his elevation to the Sacred Chair, he had been invested with any ecclesiastical dignity. He exchanged his princely name of Octavian for that of John the Twelfth; and we are told that from this time onwards it became the rule for Popes to change their family name. The heir of Alberic now united the secular and spiritual powers, and the only result of the revolution of 932 was the elevation of the ruling patrician family to the chair of Peter, which this family hoped to make an hereditary possession. John's princely instincts were stronger than his taste for spiritual duties, and the two natures—that of Octavian and that of John the Twelfth—stood in unequal con-

¹ Benedict, c. 35: *Agapitus p. decessit. Octavianus in sede—susceptus est.* The *Chron. Farf.*, p. 472, wrongly says: *qui patre vivente P. ordinatus est.* Pagi makes him Pope on May 12th, 956; a statement which Mansi (note to Baron. *A.* 955) has already corrected from John's letters in Ughelli, viii. 57. The month remains doubtful.

archives. If doubts as to the authenticity of this document cannot be entirely refuted, and both form and contents appear somewhat suspicious, it cannot at all events be denied that Otto ratified the Carolingian Donation in its full extent, while at the same time he held fast to the Imperial rights, as they had been established, particularly by the Constitution of Lothar in reference to the recognition of the Papal election and the Roman administration of justice by Imperial missi.¹

The Pope himself took the oath of fidelity to the Emperor and promised never to desert him for Berengar. The Romans on their side tendered the oath of obedience, and the constitutional relations of Carolingian times between Otto, the Pope and the city appeared to be renewed. But John's position remained involved in contradictions. From his father he had inherited the princely power in Rome ; with

¹ *Privileg. Ottonis, Mon. Germ., Leg. II.*, App. 164. Muratori, Berretta, Goldast, deny its authenticity. The literature of the subject is given by Waitz, *Jahrb. d. D. R.* i. 3, 207. The Church is confirmed in possession of Venice, Istria, Spoleto, Benevento, even Naples, *necnon patrimonium Sicilie, si Deus illud nostris tradiderit manibus*. The articles concerning the Missi, the election and consecration of the Pope in their presence, are in order, and show that Otto determined to adhere to the earlier constitution of the Empire. With regard to this document, see Ficker, *Forsch. Otto's I. sur Rechtsgesch. Ital.* ii. 335 ff., and Th. Sickel, *Das Privilegium Otto's I. für die röm. Kirche. vom J. 962, 1883*. Sickel holds the Vat. document, which was known to Baronius and Cenni, for a draft, made with the Emperor's knowledge of his agreement, which renewed with some variations the *Ludovicianum*.

² The *Vita Mathildis Regina*, (M. Germ., vi. c. 21) even says ; *totus pop. Rom. se sponte subjugavit ipsis dominatus, et sibi solvabant tributa, et post illum ceteris suis posteris.* This, however, is a fable.

this power he had united the Papacy. The revolution had been followed by the restoration, and the restoration had culminated in the Imperium. The Roman aristocracy found themselves again brought under the power of the Emperor and the Pope. The independence which they had so long enjoyed under Alberic had ceased, and the old opposition between the Pope and the Romans must therefore be renewed even more fiercely than before.

Outside the Empire the belief had arisen that Otto had restored freedom to Rome, had given back her privileges to the oppressed Church, and had freed the city from the tyranny of licentious women and insolent nobles.¹ Meanwhile the new Emperor regarded the dissolute life of the youthful Pope with indignation. He was already able to foresee what he had to expect from the son of Alberic. Otto left Rome on February 14th, 962, for northern Italy, where Berengar remained entrenched in the fortress of S. Leo, near Montefeltro. It was necessary for him to subjugate this last representative of Italian nationality before he could feel himself in truth Emperor.²

Scarcely had Otto left the city when John began to John XII.
commits perjury.
¹ *Adami Gesta Hammab. Eccl., M. Germ.* ix. 308; ii. c. 9: *Romamque pristina reddidit libertati.* We should read what Liutprand (*Legatio*, c. 5) replied to the reproaches of Byzantium.

² According to the *Cod. Vat.*, 1340, Otto came to Rome *m. Jan. die xxxi. feria vi.*, *et stetit ibi dieb. xv.*, *et exiit inde m. Febr. die xiiii. in festo S. Valentini, Ind. V.* On Feb. 21 he was at Rignano, and was therefore still in the neighbourhood of Rome; he here issued a charter on Monte Amiata: *Actum Rignano IX. Kal. Mar. Ind. V., A. 962. Cod. Dipl. Amiat.* of Fatteschi, ccxiii. p. 193.—Stumpf, *Die Reichs-kanzler*, 28.

find the Imperial power an oppressive burthen. The consequences of Otto's Roman expedition had far surpassed his calculations. From a liberator of the state of the Church he had become a ruler—one who would be Emperor in the highest sense—a monarch such as would never be satisfied to play the submissive part of Charles the Bald. John now wished the past undone. Compelled by the nobles, he conspired with Berengar and Adalbert. The Imperial party in Rome watched all his movements, and reported them to Otto on his arrival in Pavia in the spring of 963. The Imperial agents described the licentious life of the Pope, who had turned the Lateran into a brothel, and had squandered towns and estates upon his mistresses. They told the Emperor that no respectable woman dared any longer make a pilgrimage to Rome, from fear of falling into the power of the Pope. They lamented the desertion of the city and the ruin of the churches, through the decaying roofs of which the rain streamed upon the altars below. The answer with which Otto attempted to excuse John's conduct constitutes the bitterest satire on the condition of the Papacy. "The Pope," he said, "is still a boy, and will learn to control himself by the example of nobler men."¹ He sent messengers to Rome to make further enquiries into the existing state of things, and started for S. Leo to besiege Berengar and Willa. As he lay before the fortress in the summer of 963, he received the nuncios of the Pope, Demetrius, son of Meliosus and the Protos-

¹ *Puer, inquit, est, facile bonorum immutabitur exemplo virorum.*
Liutprand, *Hist. Ottonis*, c. 5.

crinian Leo, who came to complain that he occupied the ecclesiastical estates and sought to subdue S. Leo, the property of S. Peter. Otto, who had delayed the restitution of several patrimonies, answered that he could not restore the property of the Church before he had taken it from the usurpers. Holding in his hands the proofs of John's intrigues, he could show to the nuncios intercepted letters from the Pope to the Greek Emperor, and even to the Hungarians, whom John had summoned to invade Germany. The Imperial envoys went forthwith to Rome to explain to the Pope that their master was prepared to wipe out the suspicion of disloyalty by oath or by the judgment of God in a duel. They were, however, ungraciously received, and scarcely had they left, in the company of papal messengers, when Adalbert He summons Adalbert to Rome. appeared in the city. The young pretender played towards Otto the same miserable part to which Adelchis had formerly been condemned. While his father defended S. Leo, he wandered indefatigably hither and thither to collect followers. He demanded help from Byzantium, he hastened to the Saracens at Fraxinetum, he went, as Sextus Pompeius once had done, to Corsica, and here entered into negotiations with the Pope; lastly, he landed at Civita Vecchia, and the gates of Rome were opened to him.

On receiving the news, Otto hastened from S. Leo Otto I returns to Rome, 963. to Rome in the autumn of 963. The population of the city was split into an Imperial and a Papal faction, and it remained thus divided for centuries. The Imperialists, who had summoned Otto on the arrival of Adalbert, held themselves intrenched in

John XII.
escapes.

Otto I.
deprives
the
Romans
of the
right of
Papal
Election.

Johannipolis, while the Papal or national party, led by Adalbert and the Pope himself (John appeared as a knight in armour and helmet), held the Leonine city. The Pope resolved to defend Rome; he drove Otto back to the Tiber. His heart, however, soon failed him, and his opponents waxed stronger every day. The populace which had made a resolute resistance to Hugo's attacks trembled in dread of an assault. The son of Alberic feared treason; he collected the church's treasures, and with Adalbert escaped to the Campagna and apparently shut himself up in Tivoli.¹ His adherents laid down their arms and gave hostages, and the Emperor entered Rome for the second time on November 2nd, 963.

He assembled clergy, nobles, and the heads of the people, and forced them to swear that they would not ordain or even elect any Pope without his or his son's consent. He thus deprived the Romans of the rights which they had hitherto preserved as their jewel and their one single act of civic independence—a right with which no Carolingian had ventured to interfere. This right, that of electing the head of the Church, properly belonged to the whole Christian community, and not to the insignificant body of Roman electors. But since it was impossible that the whole of Christendom could exercise a vote, the election had long since silently passed into the hands of the

¹ *Campaniam fugiens, ibi in silvis et montibus more bestia latuit.* *Vita Joh. XII.*, *Cod. Vat. 1437, Chron. Farf.*, p. 476, and the Treves manuscript of the Privilegium of Leo VIII. (in Flosz), *Cont. Regin.*, and Liutprand, *Hist. Otton.*, where Tiberis (Tivoli) is mentioned as the abode of the Pope.

Romans, or rather each Bishop of Rome had been recognised in succession as head of the universal Church. This invaluable privilege lay in the hands of the Clergy, Ordo and Populus of the Romans, and the right of ratification exercised by earlier Emperors as heads of the universal Empire was the only limit that had been placed upon it.

Otto summoned a Synod in S. Peter's on November 6th. As in the time of the Patricius Charles, sentence was to be pronounced on an accused Pope under the presidency of the temporal authority. But John the Twelfth had not, like Leo the Third, either given his consent to the trial, nor was he present, nor did the bishops now declare themselves unauthorised to sit in judgment on the Apostolic Chair. The times had changed. An Emperor appeared in all the majesty of power as administrator of the degenerate ecclesiastical government. He ruthlessly laid bare before the eyes of the world the shame of the Pope by whom he had been consecrated. He called upon the people to accuse the Pope, and his commands were obeyed by a Synod, which for the first time judged and deposed a Pope without having accorded him a hearing, and then elected an Imperial candidate as his successor.

Liutprand, at this time Bishop of Cremona and an eye-witness of the events, has described the Acts of this Synod. He enumerates all the bishops of the Roman territory here present, and we find that, in spite of the Saracens, many very ancient bishoprics still existed. Of the Suburbican bishops, there appeared those of Albano, Ostia and Portus of

Præneste, Silva Candida and the Sabina ; further, the Bishops of Gabium, Velletri, Forum Claudii (Oriolum), Bleda and Nepi, of Cære, Tibur, Alatri, and Anagni, of Trevi, Ferentino, Norma and Veruli, of Sutri, Narni, Gallese and Falerii, of Orta and Terracina.¹ Liutprand only mentions thirteen cardinals of the following titulars : Balbina, Anastasia, Lorenzo in Damaso, Chrysogonus, Equitius, Susanna, Pammachius, Calixtus, Cecilia, Lorenzo in Lucina, Sixtus, IV Coronati and Santa Sabina. Several cardinals had followed the fugitive Pope. Many titulars may have become extinct. The historian names as present all the ministers of the Papal palace, the deacons and regionaries, the notaries, the Primicerius of the School of Singers. The mention of some Roman nobles, amongst whom we discover many already well-known names, excites, however, an even greater interest. Stephen, son of the Superista John ; Demetrius, son of Meliosus, Crescentius of the Marble Horse (here mentioned for the first time), John Mizina (better de Mizina), Stephen de Imiza, Theodore de Rufina, John de Primicerio, Leo de Cazunuli, Richard, Peter de Cannapara, Benedict and his son Bulgamin, were now the principal Romans belonging to the Imperial party. Several of the nobles had accompanied the Pope in his flight ; others remained in their fortresses on the Campagna. The Roman plebs were represented by

¹ There is here as little mention of the Bishop of Tusculum as in the Synod of John XII. of 964. The survival of Forum Claudii and Falerii with their ancient names is remarkable. Tres Tabernæ had disappeared. Centumcellæ is not mentioned, nor yet Polimartium, but both endured. Liutprand, *Hist. Otton.*, c. 9. For this Synod see Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iv. 582.

the captains of the militia, headed by Peter, bearing the surname Imperiola.¹ His presence, of which special mention is made, shows the independent development in Rome of the plebeian element, which dated from Alberic. Had Alberic given the Romans a constitution, had he appointed senate and tribunes for the people, had he nominated two consuls annually, civic dignities such as these could not have escaped the notice of an observer such as Liutprand. The bishop, however, never by a single syllable mentions either senate, senators or other magistrates. He merely speaks of the primates of the city, of the militia and of their captain, as representatives of the "plebs," and quotes the other officers of the Palace already known to us.

The complete representation of all the elective classes caused the synod to resemble the synod of Leo the Third. Like its predecessor, this synod was at the same time council, diet and court of justice. The presidency of a powerful emperor, the presence of so many bishops, dukes and counts of Germany

¹ *E plebe Petrus, qui et Imperiola est dictus adstitit cum omni Romanorum milisia.* In documents this Roman is frequently called *Petrus de Imperio*. *Cod. Sessor.* cxxvii. p. 131, A. 966: *Libellum Petri de Imperio vocati*. In 1006 *Crescentius de Imperio*, probably his son, *ibid.* p. 247. The name *Impéoli* still exists.—Some of these nobles are found again in documents. See the document of July 28th, 966, in Giesebricht I., Anhang, D. Demetrius, son of the Consul and Dux Meliosus, possessed a fortress near Velletri from the year 946 (Borgia, *Stor. di Velletri*, p. 158); perhaps the same, who appears in 979 as uncle of Marozza (Murat, Ant. V. 773). Stephen's mother Imiza was at that time the most cultured woman in Rome, the friend of John XIII. and of Theophania; she corresponded with Gerbert. Gerberti, Ep. 22: *Domina Imiza*.

anomalous position which he held as Prince and Pope at the same time. His youth, the greatness of his father, the tragic discords of his position, claim for him a lenient judgment.¹

The
Romans
raise
Benedict
V. to the
Papacy.

On the death of John the Romans broke the oath which had been extorted from them, and on February 26th, deposing Leo the Eighth, whom they no longer recognised as Pope, they again sought to defy the Emperor. Benedict the cardinal-deacon was elected after a violent dispute between the factions, and was acclaimed by the militia. Benedict was a worthy man, and one who in the midst of the prevailing barbarism had acquired the rare title of *Grammaticus* by which he is distinguished.² As one of the accusers of John the Twelfth, Benedict had signed the Act of Deposition. He had, however, appeared at the February Synod which condemned the Imperial Pope. In him the Romans beheld the man who would bravely defend the Church against the Imperial power. In defiance of the Emperor's prohibition the

¹ *In temporibus adeo a diabolo est percussus, ut infra dierum octo spaciū eodem sit vulnere mortuus.* Liutprand, c. 19, and similarly the *Vita in Murat*, III. 2, p. 326 (*Cod. Vat.* 3764) know nothing of the circumstance.—*Nam. 2, Id. Maii*—*excessit*, says *Cont. Regin.* John XII. was, moreover, buried with every honour in the Lateran. His epitaph in the customary official phrases (printed in Adinolfi, *Roma—di mezzo I.* 197), has been preserved. It begins :

*Quam solers Domino placuit quam mente modesta
Præsul apostolicus orbis et omne decus,
Hic statuit tumulo claudi sua membra sub isto,
Hec eadem sperans ut sibi reddat humus.*

² *Erat enim vir prudentiss. grammaticæ artis imbutus, unde ad Romanum populo Benedictus grammaticus est appellatus.* Ben. of Soracte, c. 37; and Gerbert, *Conc. Remens.*, c. 28.

elected candidate was consecrated and ascended the Apostolic Chair as Benedict the Fifth.

Envoy from the Roman people had hastened to Otto at Rieti to inform him of the recent Papal election and to implore his ratification. Otto had explained that he would return in company with Leo, their lawful Pope, and would punish the city if it refused him obedience. He now departed for Rome. The villages belonging to the Roman territory were pillaged and devastated by his troops; the city itself was besieged. As Otto lay encamped before the walls and demanded the surrender of Benedict, he appeared in the light of an Emperor requiring the obedience of a city which he had subjugated. The Romans, however, only recognised a despot who had come to rob them of the last remains of independence, of the right which they had inherited from their ancestors—the right of electing a pope. The infamy of John the Twelfth was wiped out. A pious man had been elected as his successor, and the Imperial ratification was implored. But could Otto set aside Leo the Eighth, who had been elected by a Council with his consent? Could the Romans, on the other hand, now renounce the attempt to maintain against the new Emperor their ancient right of election without admitting themselves to be deserving of slavery? Their Pope mounted the walls and encouraged the defenders to resistance. Famine raged in the city, and repeated attacks completely shook the courage of the besieged. They opened the gates on June 23rd: they surrendered Benedict the Fifth and again swore obedience at S. Peter's grave. They awaited

He
besieges
Rome.

a merciless punishment. The Emperor, however, granted them an amnesty.¹

Benedict
V. is
deposed.

After his entry Leo the Eighth assembled a Council in the Lateran at Otto's command. The unfortunate Pope of the Romans, clad in pontifical vestments, was led into the Hall of Council. The Arch-deacon asked by what right he had ventured to assume the insignia of the sacred dignity, since his master and Pope Leo, in whose election on the deposition of John he had himself taken part, was still alive. He was further charged with having broken his oath to his sovereign and Emperor here present never to elect a pope without his consent. "If I have sinned," answered Benedict, "have pity upon me." And he stretched out his hands in entreaty. Otto burst into tears. The Roman Church, under Nicholas the First, so formidable a tribunal for kings, now lay at the feet of the Empire. Otto addressed an intercession in favour of Benedict to the Synod. The anti-pope clung to his knees. Leo the Eighth cut his pallium in two, took the ferule from his hands, broke it asunder, commanded Benedict to sit upon the ground, tore the papal vestments from him, and deprived him of his spiritual dignities. He condemned the anti-pope to perpetual exile, and only to please the Emperor did he allow him to retain the rank of deacon.²

The Papal Chair had long been at the mercy of the city factions. Even women had appointed popes,

¹ *Dimisit autem eis quanta et qualia mala perfessus est ab illis*
Chron. Farf., p. 476.

² Liutprand's *Historia Ottonis* closes with the Acts of this Synod.

and the degradation of the sacred office had reached its lowest depth in the grandson of Marozia. The Emperor, therefore, in wresting the right of election out of the hands of the rude nobility had rendered the Church a true service. The corruption of the city constituted him its Dictator; he therefore arrogated to himself as an Imperial right the privilege of filling every appointment. He was accustomed to nominate bishops according to his pleasure in Germany. Never had Emperor obtained a like victory. Owing to his personal energy and the energy of his successors—whose example he became—the Papacy was rendered subject to the Empire, and the Church of Rome became a vassal of Germany. The Imperial power attained a tremendous height. The Papacy, however, though repressed by the majesty of great rulers, revenged itself, while (in obedience to Nature's laws of change) it not only regained its lost freedom, but overstepped its previous limits with gigantic strides. The struggle of the Church with the German Empire was the greatest work of the Middle Ages,—the drama which convulsed the world.

The honourable attempt of the Romans to preserve their right of election fell a sacrifice to a higher necessity. In order to reform Rome and the Church it was necessary that the German monarchy should assume the dictatorship over them for a time. The humiliated city had accepted the Emperor as its ruler; the Imperial Pope was reinstated, and it is therefore probable that Otto, instead of being satisfied with an oath, now issued a decree commanding

Charter of
Leo VIII.
respecting
the Papal
Election.

the absolute renunciation of the elective rights on the part of the Romans, and that his creature Leo the Eighth acquiesced in carrying out his design. A charter of this nature in the imperfect dictio of the eleventh century has been preserved, but its authenticity is open to grave doubts, evident falsifications in favour of Imperial rights having placed its true import beyond recognition.¹

¹ I have compared the Privileg. Leo VIII. (*Ivo Panorm. VIII. 135, Gratian. Decret. 63, c. 23, Mon. Germ., Leg. II. 167*) in the *Cod. Val. 1984, fol. 192*, where also, fol. 191, the spurious Privileg. of Adrian I. is found. It gives the Emperor the power of choosing Pope, King, Patricius and Bishops, *ut ipsi tamen ab eo investituram suscipiant, et consecrationem recipiant undecumque pertinuerit—soli regi romani imperii hanc reverentie tribuimus potestatem*. Flossz has published a manuscript of Treves, of sœc. XI. or XII., in which he seeks to recognise the original Privilege of Leo VIII. This clumsy document rather appears to be a rhetorical production. The grounds for the spuriousness of the diploma are given by Baronius, Pagi, Muratori, Curtius, Pertz, Dönniges, Giesebrecht, Hinschius, Kirchenrecht. A second spurious Privilegium of Leo VIII. in *Baron.*, and *Mon. Germ. Leg. II. 168*, agreeing with the *Vita Leo VIII.* in *Bern. Guidonis* and *Amalricus Aug.*, according to which the Pope ceded the State of the Church, is only valuable on account of the specification of the regions of the city.—See E. Bernheim, *Das unechte Decret Hadrians I. im Zusammenhange mit den unechten Decreten Leo's VIII., als Documente des Investiturstreits* (*Forsch. z. D. Gesch.*, Bd. xv., 1875, p. 618 f.).

4. OTTO RETURNS TO GERMANY. DEATH OF LEO IN THE SPRING OF 965. JOHN XIII. POPE. HIS FAMILY. HIS BANISHMENT. OTTO MARCHES AGAINST ROME. THE POPE IS AGAIN SEIZED. BARBAROUS PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS. THE CABALLUS CONSTANTINI. LAMENT FOR THE FALL OF ROME INTO THE POWER OF THE SAXONS.

Having celebrated the festival of S. Peter, Otto left the city on July 1st, 964. He took with him Benedict the Fifth, whom he afterwards sent in exile to Hamburg. Leo the Eighth, who remained behind under such grievous conditions, was released by death from his hopeless fate in the spring of 965. The Romans dared no longer assemble for the election of a new pope. On the contrary, they sent Azzo and Marinus, Bishop of Sutri, to Germany, and resigned the election to the Emperor. Their own wishes were centred on Benedict the Fifth, the man of their choice, and they hoped that the Emperor might ratify his election. Benedict, however, died on July 4th, 965, at Hamburg, where, under the custody of Bishop Adaldag, he had led a saintly life,¹ and Otto was thus released from the difficulty of refusing the request of the Romans. Courteously dismissing their ambassadors, he sent the Bishops Otger of Spiers and Liutprand of Cremona to Rome.

The choice fell on the Bishop of Narni, who was John XIII.,
Pope, 965-
972.

¹ *Cont. Regin.* says nothing of the entreaties of the Romans; Adam of Bremen, however (*Mon. Germ.* ix. 309), speaks of them. Benedict V.'s body was afterwards brought to Rome. See Thietmar, who praises him greatly (*Chron.* IV. c. 40).

elected to the Papal chair on October 1st, 965. John the Thirteenth, son of another John, Bishop of Narni, had been educated in the Lateran. He had here mounted in succession the various steps of the ecclesiastical ladder, and had acquired respect by his learning.¹ He had been one of the accusers of John the Twelfth, and had also signed the deposition of Leo the Eighth, in whose elevation he must have unwillingly acquiesced. He was of distinguished Roman family and nearly related to the Senatrix Stephania, whom he later invested with the fief of Palestrina. He also effected a marriage between Benedict (her son by the count of the same name) and the daughter of Crescentius of the Marble Horse, and then made Benedict Rector of the Sabina.² After the fall of

¹ Catalog. Eccardi and Vitæ Cod. Vat. 1437, 3764; Ughelli (I. 1013) rightly calls the Bishop of Narni John, the son wrongly Sergius. Catalog. I. in the Cod. Vat. 3764 has correctly *sed. ann. vi. m. xi. d. v.*; the second, or the continuation of Anastasius, wrongly says *ann. vii. (m. xi. d. v.)*

² Hugo of Farfa (*Mon. Germ. xiii. 540*): *Joh. igitur papa qui appellatus est major, ingressus papaticum satis exaltavit quendam nepotem suum nomine Benedictum, deditque ei Theodorandom uxorem satis nobilem, filiam Crescentii qui vocatur a Caballo marmoreo, et comitatum Sabinensem dedit ei et plures alios.* Another Theodoranda was the daughter of the Consul Gratian, whom I hold to have been the husband of Theodora II., and was married to Ingebald, Rector of the Sabina. Wilmans believes the former to have been the daughter of Crescentius, who was executed in 998; the supposition, however, cannot be proved, and is at variance with the dates of the persons. Benedict was still rector of the Sabina in 998. His sons John and Crescentius are found from 1010 as lords of Palestrina, with which Stephania had been invested in the year 970. Count Benedict appears as husband of Stephania in 987 (*Dipl. III. in Nerini*, p. 381), whose son was probably the nephew of John XIII. Stephania must therefore have been the sister of the Pope. Petrini, *Mem. Prenest.* p. 104. Was

the house of Alberic, the family of Crescentius entered upon its illustrious career. John the Thirteenth himself exalted it in order to secure a support against the nobility, with whom he forthwith quarrelled. He endeavoured by a closer approach to the Emperor to free himself from the influence of the nobility ; but the result was a conspiracy formed against himself.¹

At its head stood Peter the City Prefect, and the sudden mention of a Prefect proves that the illustrious officer had been restored by the Emperor.² With Peter was Roffred, Count of the Campagna, who it would appear was a highly influential man, the Vestarius Stephen, and many members of the populace. The standard-bearers of the militia seized the Pope on the 16th of December, and threw him into S. Angelo, whence they carried him to Campania, probably to Roffred's castle.³ The revolt possessed a demo-

Rebellion
against
John XIII.,
headed by
Peter,
Prefect of
the city.

she as Senatrix the daughter of Theodora II. ? Did John belong to the family of Alberic ?

¹ *Qui statim majores Romanorum elatiore animo quam oporteret insequitur, quo in brevi inimicissimos et infestos patitur. Contin. Reginonis, A. 965.*

² A leaden bull, which entirely corresponds to those of the Popes in the 9th and 10th centuries, must have reference to him ; on the obverse PETRVS round a Greek cross ; on the reverse PRÆFECTVS round a star with eight rays. Marini has described this bull (Cod. Vat. 9071, p. 185) ; see thereon De Rossi, *Di una Bolla Plumbea Papale del sec. incirca X. scoperta nel Foro Romano, Notizie degli Scavi maggio, 1882*. This Peter was probably a son of the above-named John Mizina ; since in a deed of Corneto, of November 10th, 1144, reference is made to a previous time, where *Petrus Praefectus quondam Johannis Michini* first possessed Corneto. Wüstenfeld, *Regesten der wichtigeren Urkunden sur Geschichte von Corneto*, in the *Iter Italicum* of Pflugk-Hartung, 1884, ii. 533.

³ *Vita Joh. XIII. e Cod. Vat. (1437) : comprehensus est a Roffredo*

cratic character, for the leader of the common people (*vulgus populi*) appeared beside the City Prefect. And since the loss of the elective privilege must have involved Rome in a state of continuous revolution, it further signified the release of Rome from the Papal government, as also from the yoke of the foreigner. This outbreak of despair was also destined to a tragic end.

Otto came to Italy in the autumn of 966. He first punished rebellious Lombardy, where the unfortunate Adalbert had again ventured on war, and again been forced to fly to Corsica and to wander restlessly hither and thither. As the Emperor again advanced on Rome, his approach effected a counter revolution. John, son of Crescentius, and the followers of the banished Pope, rose in rebellion; Roffred and Stephen were slain, the Prefect was forced to fly; the Pope was recalled. John the Thirteenth was now at Capua, under the protection of Count Pandulf. With a Capuan escort he crossed the Sabina, where his nephew Benedict, step-son of Crescentius of the Marble Horse, ruled as Count, and after an exile of ten months and twenty-eight days he entered the city on November 12th.¹

Otto soon after also arrived. Although the city

Campanino Comite cum Petro Prefecto, et adjutorio Vulgi Populi qui vocantur Decarones, recluserunt eum in Castello S. Angelis. Cont. Regin. Bened. of Soracte, c. 30, after having comically described the ill-treatment of the prisoner (*alii percutiebant, caput ejus, alii alapas in facies ejus percutiebat, alii nautes nutis cruciebantur*). *Sic—in Campanie finibus inclusus.*

¹ Ben. of Soracte, c. 39. The Pope had won over the Capuans by raising Capua to an archbishopric.

offered no resistance, his troops did not now spare the inhabitants, and we do not doubt that on this occasion Rome was both sacked and stained with the blood of her citizens. The indignant Emperor resolved to punish the heads of the rebellion with severity. The more conspicuous offenders, men bearing the title of Consul, were banished to Germany. Twelve leaders of the people, called in ancient documents *Decarcones*—possibly Captains of the Regions—expiated their love of freedom on the gallows. Several were executed or blinded.¹ Barbarous and strange as the age itself was the punishment inflicted on Peter the City-Prefect, who had been dragged a prisoner to the dungeons of the Lateran. The Emperor handed him over to the Pope and John caused him to be hanged by his hair from the

Oto I.
punishes
the
Romans,
966.

¹ *Vita Joh. XIII.* : *de vulgi populo, qui vocantur Decarcones duodecim suspendit in patibulis.* The word *Decarcones* is only used in this *vita*. Regino counts 13 *ex majoribus Romanor.*, without the prefects. Cod. Estens. only gives 11, and Muratori has the variants *decartores*, *decartiones*, *decuriones*. In the Cod. Vat. 1437 I clearly read *decarcones*. Giesebricht holds them to have been members of the *Vulcus populi* or *virii humiles*, which is contradicted by the epithet *majores* in Regino. They were, nevertheless, leaders of the populace. If the word should be read *Decarchontes*, then is it a translation of *Decemprimi*. *Decarcones*, or rather *Decariones* as it must be read, arose, according to my view, from *decem capi (tanei) regionum*, which the people joined together into *decariones*, as men afterwards said *i caporioni*, or in Orvieto *anterioni*. The *i* in *riones* might easily be transformed into a *c* in writing. In 1148 there were in Viterbo "Ten-men" or *Capudece* (Orioli in the *Giorn. Arcadico*, t. 137, p. 257). Since Regino counted 13 *ex majorib. Romanor.*, the 13th belonged to Trastevere. There were 12 standard-bearers in sec. xii. and xiii. also. In Henry V.'s time the *draconarii* were still distinguished from the *aquiliferi*, *leoniferi*, *lupiferi*, so that Hegel's view (I. 315), that the right reading is *Draconarii*, standard-bearers, is untenable.

equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, the "Caballus Constantini." Thus by a singular accident a celebrated monument of antiquity emerges out of the darkness of the time.

The
Caballus
Con-
stantini.

This renowned work of art still survives as the most beautiful ornament of the Capitol. The traveller looks upon it with reverence, remembering the seventeen centuries which have passed over the bronze Emperor, who with outstretched arm sits his horse in majestic sadness, and who may possibly remain there while another like period of history runs its course. Created while the power of the Cæsars was at its height, the statue has witnessed the fall of the Empire and the growth of the Papacy in Rome. Goths, Vandals, Heruli, Byzantines, Germans, intent on pillage and slaughter, have passed it by and spared it. The rapacious Constans the Second looked on it and left it unheeded. Temples and basilicas have fallen around it. Colonnades and monuments have been overthrown. The statue itself has remained unharmed like the solitary genius of Rome's great past. Its name, however, had been forgotten, and after the equestrian statue of Constantine on the Arch of Severus had been destroyed, it was baptised in the name of the Emperor who had been so great a benefactor to the Church. A rude legend concerning its origin had arisen. Pilgrims related how Rome had been besieged by a foreign king at the Lateran Gate, while the Consuls still ruled the city. A gigantic armour-bearer, or a peasant, had offered to deliver it in its straits, but had demanded the sum of thirty thousand sesterces and a gilt equestrian statue in re-

turn for his services. The Senate consented. He mounted a horse without a saddle, a sickle in his hand. An owl had reported to him where the king was to be found every night at the foot of a tree. He seized the king and carried him off, while the Romans attacked the enemy's camp and possessed themselves of their treasures. The Senate bestowed the promised reward on the liberator, and ordered a horse of gilt bronze without a saddle, on which the rider was represented, the right hand (with which he had taken the king) outstretched. An image of the owl was placed on the horse's head, and the king himself with bound hands underneath his hoofs.¹

The statue of Marcus Aurelius therefore stood in perfect preservation on the Lateran field (the Campus Lateranensis) in the tenth century.² The Lateran basilica was one of Constantine's foundations. The Patriarchium had been his palace, and it was consequently believed that the equestrian statue was a portrait of this great Emperor. Several memorials

¹ *Et equum aeneum pro memoria deauratum et sine sella, ipso desuper residente, extensa manu dextera que ceperat Regem.* Mirabilia and Graphia. The horse has a tuft of hair on its forehead, which the popular imagination transformed into an owl; and it is possible that a fettered prisoner of war may originally have been represented underneath the horse. The legend probably belongs to the X. scc. In 966 a Prefect of the city was hanged on this statue, and in 1847 the Italian Tricolour was placed in the hand of the same Marcus Aurelius.

² The *Vita Joh. XIII.* does not specify the site of the equestrian statue: *per capillos capitis eum suspendit in caballum Constantini.* The same *Vita* and *Catal. Eccardi*, however, have in the Life of John XIV.: *in Campum ante Caballum Constantini.* The expression *Campus* so frequently used of the Lateran Field has misled Fea and others into thinking of the Campo Vaccino.

and monuments of ancient Rome had already found refuge in the Lateran. As early as the tenth century the bronze group of the nursing wolf had been placed in one of the Halls, where tribunals were held under the presidency of the Imperial Missi, and from the group this hall received the name *ad Lupam*.¹

We return, however, to the Prefect, whom we left hanging by his hair. Removed from this position, he was placed backwards and naked upon an ass, the tail of which, furnished with a bell, he had to grasp as reins. A sack of feathers was placed upon his head, two similar sacks were fastened to his thighs, and he was thus led through Rome. He was finally exiled beyond the Alps. Revenge was exercised even upon the dead. The bodies of Count Roffred and the Vestiarus Stephen were taken from their graves by Imperial command and thrown outside the walls. This act of severity aroused horror and indignation within the city, surprise and sympathy without, and hatred among all the enemies of the Empire. John the Thirteenth alone had reason for gratitude towards Otto. He terms him the liberator and restorer of the tottering Church, the illustrious guest and thrice blessed Emperor.² The Romans nevertheless could

¹ *Libelle. de Imp. Potest.*, p. 720: *in judiciali loco ad Lateranis, ubi dicitur ad Lupam, que mater vocabatur Romanor.* This is copied by Benedict of Soracte, *cap. 24*. The she-wolf stood there until 1471, when it was brought to the Capitol. The Lateran. *Catasto* of 1450 mentions the house, in which *la lupa et opera de metallo* stood: Fleury, *Le Latran*, p. 498. Stevenson, *Annali d. Inst.* 1877, p. 380.

² Mansi (*Concil. xviii.* 509) in the Ravennese bull of the institution of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg: *Roma caput totius mundi et ecclesia universalis ab inquis pene pessum data, a Domno Ottone aug. Imp., a Deo coronato Cesare, et magno, et ter benedicto—erecta est, et in*

never learn to bend to the power of the foreign kings, who crossed the Alps at the head of an army to obtain a crown and title in S. Peter's, wherewith to rule their city. It was in silent resentment that they submitted to the power of the Saxon house. No poet was forthcoming to describe the fate of the illustrious city, as it had been described in the time of their ancestors.¹ The monk of Soracte, however, who closes his chronicle with the arrival of the indignant Otto with his "immense army of Gauls," drops his pen, overcome with emotion, and bursts into a lament. His wail, although uttered in barbarous and stammering accents, is inspired by genuine feeling, and as such awakes our sympathy.

"Woe to Rome ! oppressed and down-trodden by so many nations ! Thou art taken captive by the Saxon king, thy people are judged by the sword. Thy strength is become as naught. Thy gold and thy silver are carried away in their purses. Thou, who wast a mother, art now become a daughter. What thou didst possess, thou hast lost. Thou art robbed of thy first youth. In the time of Pope Leo thou wert overcome by the first Julius. In the might of

pristinum honorem omni reverentia redacta. The Greeks also acknowledged that Rome was a Papal city : *νῦν δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ καινοτοπία αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ τὴν Ρέμην ἀποθέσθαι τὸ βασιλέων κράτος, καὶ ιδιοκρατοπλανῆσσιν καὶ δεσμόβεσσαι κύριος παρὰ τίνος κατὰ καιρὸν τάτα.* Const. Porphyr., *De Thematib.*, ii. 27 (ed. Bonn.).

¹ A poet about 1000 causes the Queen of the World to repeat the following lines :—

*Enitui facie toto memorabilis orbe . . .
Et post delicias semino nunc lachrymas.*

Cod. Casin. 451. p. 326 ; *Di Costanzo, Mem. di S. Rufino*, p. 423, in *De Rossi, Piante incogr. di Roma*, p. 77.

thy power thou hast triumphed over nations, hast cast the world into the dust, hast strangled the kings of the earth. Thou hast borne the sceptre and the great power. Thou hast been utterly plundered and ravaged by the Saxon king. As some wise men said, and as it will be found written in thy histories, thou hast formerly fought with foreign nations and been victorious from north to south. The people of Gaul have taken possession of thee. Thou wast too beautiful. All thy walls with towers and battlements were as it is found. Thou hadst three hundred and eighty-one towers, forty-six forts, six thousand eight hundred battlements: thy gates were fifteen. Woe to the Leonine city! long since wert thou taken, but now thou art desolated by the Saxon king.”¹

Such is the lament raised by an ignorant monk for the fall of Rome under the Saxons. From the lonely heights of Soracte the chronicler could look on the beauteous plains below, and watch the armed processions as they trooped year after year across the Campagna to attack the Eternal City and to fill it with blood and terror. In the changed conditions of Rome the lament of the monk cannot move us as did the elegies of his predecessors. We may, however, place his lamentation beside that of Jerome on the fall of the city under the Goths, beside that of Gregory

¹ *Ve Roma! quia tantis gentis oppressa et conculcata. Qui etiam a Saxone rege apprehensa fuisti, et gladiati populi tui, et robor tua ad nichilum redacta est. Aurum et argentum tuum in illorum marsupiis deportant.* The enumeration of the towers, &c., appears as the second since that of the Anon. of Einsiedeln. These enumerations are based essentially on the ancient registers, but this by no means excludes the newer buildings, especially the towers.

under the terror of the Lombards, and lastly beside the touching dirge over Rome's subjugation to the Byzantine yoke. Comparing it with these earlier elegies, we discover in the barbarism of its diction the depth to which the language and learning of the Romans had sunk in the tenth century.

CHAPTER IV.

I. CORONATION OF OTTO II.—EMBASSY OF LIUTPRAND TO BYZANTIUM—PRAENESTE OR PALESTRINA—THE SENATRIX STEPHANIA RECEIVES THE INVESTITURE OF THIS CITY IN THE YEAR 970.

FOR six entire years affairs demanded Otto's presence in Italy, the country in which after him countless Germans were to win glory, but at the same time a bitter hatred and their graves. During his sojourn in Rome he had invested Pandulf, "the Iron-head," of Capua with Spoleto and Camerino. He had entrusted a faithful vassal with the fairest domains of Southern Italy, and had made over to him the war with Byzantium, which still continued. He celebrated the Easter of 969 in Ravenna with Pope John, and in a Council restored this city with its territory and other patrimonies to the Church.¹ He then brought his son to Italy in order to secure the succession in his family and to make the Italian kingdom hereditary like the Empire.

Otto the Second entered the city with his father on December 24th, and on Christmas Day received the Imperial Crown at the hands of John the Thirteenth.²

¹ *Cont. Reginonis, A. 967.*

² *Annal. Saxo, A. 967*, and letter of Otto I. to the Dukes of Saxony,

Otto II.
crowned
co.
Emperor,
Dec. 25,
967.

The ideas cherished by his father influenced the mind of the boy of fourteen, who suddenly found himself a Cæsar standing amid the monuments of world history. The restoration of the Western Roman Empire was the goal of Otto's policy ; the subjection of Rome and the Papacy, the expulsion of Greeks and Arabs from Italy, the unification of the divided country, were the steps by which he hoped to attain his end. An alliance, such as the great Charles had once desired, was formed with Constantinople. Otto was anxious to bestow lustre on his youthful dynasty by intermarriage with the royal house of Greece. The Greek Emperor, however, regarded with jealousy the restoration of the Western Empire and the growing power of the German king in Italy, where the princes of Benevento and Capua already obeyed Otto as vassals. The fugitive sons of Berengar found shelter at Byzantium, and these princes might have easily kindled a war in Calabria, as the pretender Adelchis had previously attempted to do. Otto sent an embassy to Nicephorus Phocas to negotiate a peace and to solicit the hand of the daughter of Romanus the Second for his son. His envoy was the cleverest and most intellectual Italian of the age. Liutprand had been the courtier and flatterer of Hugo, Berengar and Otto in succession, and, since 962, Bishop of Cremona. His unusual knowledge of the Greek language, his

dat. XV. Kal. Febr. in Campania juxta Capuam, which ends : Filius noster in nativitate Domini coronam a beato apostolico in imperii dignitatem suscepit. On Dec. 2, Otto I. was already in Rome, on Dec. 7 in Ostia, on Dec. 23 he was again in Rome. See the documents for these dates in Stumpf, *Die Reichskanzler*, 38, 39.

wit and courtier-like tact qualified him for the most difficult of all embassies of the time. He wrote a minute account of his mission to Otto, and this account, which we still possess, forms one of the most amusing records of the age. The Bishop gives a picture of the Byzantine Court, which, although perhaps occasionally coloured by malice, is drawn with lively insight and remains in the highest degree valuable. We quote it therefore, so far as it refers to Rome and the Romans.¹

Liutprand
Envoy to
Byzantium. Liutprand reached the capital of the East on June 4th, 968. He was at length admitted to an audience of Nicephorus Phocas, the renowned conqueror of Crete. The vain courtier found himself in the presence of a sovereign of rude but vigorous and heroic type, who condescended to bestow a few words upon him. He revenged himself for his contemptuous treatment by drawing the portrait of a monster. The Emperor addressing him said : " We desired to receive you with splendour and magnanimity ; the impiety of your sovereign does not, however, allow us to do so. He has made himself master of Rome by hostile invasion ; he has, contrary to right, deprived Adalbert and Berengar of life. He has killed, blinded or banished the Romans, and has presumed to subject the cities of our Empire by fire and sword." ² The Bishop, who remained unembarrassed, urged in reply

¹ *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolit.*, last printed in *Mon. Germ.*, v. 347. This splendid pamphlet, full of life, encounters us like an oasis in the midst of a desert of literature. Since leaving Procopius behind we have not met anything similar to it.

² Cap. 4. The imprisoned Berengar had died in 966 at Bamberg ; Adalbert, however, still lived, so that the speech is inaccurate.

to these accusations that Otto had delivered Rome from the rule of dissolute women and insolent aristocrats, and assured Nicephorus that sentence of execution had only been passed upon perjured rebels and in accordance with the laws of Justinian. In his further dealings, he explained that Otto had restored all the Church property in his Empire to the Pope, and he referred to the Donation of Constantine, at this time esteemed genuine. The pride of the Greek Emperor, the sanctity of his person, the claims of ancient legitimacy to power over Rome and Italy, the contempt for the barbarian, the unwieldy and theatrical ceremonial of the Court, are attractively described. We may, however, be permitted to doubt whether Liutprand actually displayed the courageous independence of which he boasts. As Basil had formerly refused the Imperial title of *Basileus* to Lewis the Second, so Nicephorus now refused it to Otto, according him merely that of *Rex*.¹ Nicephorus still considered himself sole Roman Emperor, and Liutprand was thrown into no slight dismay when a letter of John the Thirteenth reached Constantinople addressed in audacity or ignorance to "the Emperor of the Greeks." At table, whither Nicephorus condescendingly, and with an ill-concealed contempt, invited Otto's ambassador, he one day taunted Liutprand with the reproach that those who in Italy now called themselves Romans were barbarians or Lombards. "The true Romans," answered the Lombard,

¹ [*Ipse enim vos non imperatorem, id est Basilea, sua lingua, sed ob indignationem βῆτα, id est regem, nostra vocabat.* Liutpr., *Leg.*, c. 2.—TRANSLATOR.]

"were descended from the fratricide Romulus and from robbers. We, however, Lombards, Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Swabians, Burgundians, despise the Romans to such a degree that when we wish to insult our enemies we call them 'Romans,' for by this name we denote all that is ignoble, cowardly, covetous, sensual and false."¹ The Greeks smiled; they hated fallen Rome, and since they dared not openly express the hope of recovering the city from the barbarians, they assured the envoys that Constantine had brought the Senate and the Roman knights to Byzantium, and had only left the dregs of the population behind.

Otto II. is refused the hand of Theophano.

Meanwhile, when Liutprand demanded the hand of the Emperor's step-daughter Theophano for Otto's son, he was answered: "If you surrender what belongs to us, you shall attain your desire. Give us therefore Ravenna and Rome and all the land that lies between these cities and our provinces. Will your lord enter into an alliance without cementing it by marriage, then let him restore freedom to Rome." To the argument, that Otto had made the Church richer than it had previously been, while the Byzantine government had not restored the patrimonies which it had annexed, the Imperial minister replied that the Emperor would do as desired as soon as he

¹ *Hoc solo i. e. Romanorum nomine quidquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiae, q. luxuriae, q. mendacii, immo q. vitiorum est, comprehendentes . . . c. 12.* With reference to this passage we may remember the verdict of Salvian, who 500 years before Liutprand was forced to say: *nomen civium Romanorum aliquando—magno aestimatum—nunc—nec vilo tantum, sed etiam abominabile pene habetur.*

ruled Rome and the Roman bishopric according to his will.¹ Liutprand did not attain his object. Ridiculed and ill-treated by the subtle Greeks, after countless insults, which he described with more humour than he endured them, the vain bishop gladly quitted Constantinople towards the end of the year 968.

We shall not follow Otto's movements in Italy. We find him making war now in Calabria, now in Ravenna and Pavia; at Christmas 970, however, he is back again in Rome. The city now bore the Imperial yoke without resistance. No event of importance is recorded in its history for some years after the cruel sentences which we have described. A diploma of John the Thirteenth, however, concerning a celebrated city deserves attention. The ancient Præneste, twenty-four miles distant from Rome, whence ^{Præneste.} it may be seen on the slopes of the mountain by the naked eye, still retained its name and the ruins of its ancient magnificence.² Legends of poets and deeds of history graced the hoary city of the Siculi. Here the youthful Marius had fallen on his sword: Sulla had reduced the city to ruins over the corpses of its inhabitants, and had then built the sumptuous temple to Fortune. Here Fulvia had defied Octavian, and

¹ *Faceret cum ad nutum suum Roma, et R. Ecclesia ordinabitur.* Byzantium was indignant that Otto ruled as sovereign over Ravenna and Rome. Otto had even built a palace at Ravenna in 970: *Placitum of Otto II.*, A. 971, *Chron. Farf.* 475.

² The people already called it *Penestrina. In territorio Penestrino.* Document, A. 998, in Marini, n. 106. Or *Pelestrina*: Document in Galletti, *Gabio*, p. 67, A. 873. Hugo of Farfa still said: *mons Penestrinus*; A. 1074, the phrase is *in Territorio Pelestrino* (Bullar., *Casin. II.*, const. cxii.).

with Fulvia was Livia, first the enemy, afterwards the wife of Augustus. The balmy air of Præneste had cured the dissolute Tiberius. Emperors, poets, all worshippers of Fortune—Ovid, Horace, Virgil—loved the laurel-crowned city sacred to the Goddess. It had fallen to decay in barbarian times; its temples, basilicas and theatres had perished or stood in ruins, and the splendid masterpieces of three different periods of antiquity lay buried in dust.¹

Præneste had, however, become one of the seven suffragan bishoprics of Rome. Agapitus, a saintly youth, had here suffered martyrdom on August 28th, 274, and was now worshipped as patron of the city in the cathedral which had arisen on the ruins of the Temple of Fortune. John now bestowed the town in hereditary lease on the Senatrix Stephania. Præneste was to belong to her, her children and grandchildren, for a rent of ten gold solidi, but it was afterwards to return to the Church. The document affords us an example of the introduction of the system of feudal tenure into Roman territory.²

John XIII.
invests the
Senatrix
Stephania
with
Præneste,
978.

We shall presently encounter the descendants of Stephania in possession of Palestrina, and shall frequently return to the city in dealing with the history of family wars of the eleventh century.

¹ The celebrated picture in mosaic, excavated at Palestrina in 1640, is still the treasure of the baronial castle. The excavations in Palestrina have yielded many Etruscan articles of toilette; the gem of the Kircherian Museum in Rome, the *Cista Mystica*, was also brought from Palestrina. Need I also remind the reader that the ruins of Præneste, on these enchanting heights, gave birth to the genius of modern Italian music?

² Diploma in Petrini, App. 394; Marini, n. 32; Murat., *Aut. It.*, iii.

2. MARRIAGE OF THEOPHANO WITH OTTO II. IN ROME—
BENEDICT VI. POPE, 973—DEATH OF OTTO THE GREAT—AGITATION IN ROME—FAMILY OF THE CRES-CENTII—THE CABALLI MARMOREI—ROMAN SURNAMES AT THIS PERIOD—CRESCENTIUS DE THEODORA—FALL OF BENEDICT VI.—FERRUCIUS RAISED TO THE PAPAL CHAIR AS BONIFACE VII.—HIS SUDDEN FLIGHT—OBSCURE END OF CRESCENTIUS.

The successor of Nicephorus willingly granted the request which Nicephorus himself had refused. Exactly a year after his departure the malicious Liutprand may have rejoiced to hear that the mighty ruler of the Eastern Empire had fallen by the swords of assassins. John Zimisces, who had brought the murderers into the palace, ascended the Greek throne on Christmas Day, 969. He received in a friendly spirit the ambassadors sent by Otto to congratulate him, and the daughter of the younger Romanus became the betrothed of Otto the Second. This princess had witnessed in her youth the most hideous tragedies committed in her own home. She

235: *Joannes Ep. Serv. Servor. Dei dilectissime in Dom. Filie Stephanie carissime Senatrixis tuisque filiis ac nepotibus.* The chronological dates are not entirely accurate. The concession was *tertii generis*. The Church both before and after this time leased places; thus Boniface VII. leased the fortress of Pietrapertusa for 10 gold solidi. Deusdedit, in *Borgia*, App. VI.—A document in *Nerini*, p. 381, speaks of the Senatrix and Comitissa Stephania and her husband Count Benedict: they presented the convent of S. Alessio with a farm *juxta portum Asture*.

had seen her father die of poison, mixed for him by her mother, the Empress Theophano; she had seen this mother, first in the arms of Nicephorus and afterwards in those of his murderer Zimisces, who, once possessed of the bloody crown, banished the adulteress to the solitude of an Armenian convent.¹ Accustomed to the skies, the language and the arts of the East, Theophano reluctantly departed for the West to live among the iron warriors of Saxony, in cities whose climate and want of civilisation made them seem as barbarous in her eyes.

The Imperial bride came under the escort of Gero, Archbishop of Cologne, two bishops, and several counts and dukes. She landed in Apulia and entered Rome, where the bridegroom awaited her, on April 14, 972. The young Cæsar was only seventeen years old, boyish and attractive in appearance, highly educated, brave and amiable, concealing within a slight and diminutive body the soul of a hero.² The youthful bride, little more than sixteen years of age, was beautiful and intellectual. To the hands of this pair the elder Otto confided the future of the empire. John the Thirteenth crowned Theophano on the 14th April, and the marriage took place immediately after in the presence of an assemblage of the nobles of Germany, Italy, and Rome.³ Brilliant festivals were given in honour of

Theophano
married to
Otto II.,
and
crowned
April 14th,
972.

¹ Theophano, mother of the princess of the same name, was the daughter of an innkeeper in Constantinople, and of such surpassing beauty that Romanus II. had made her his wife.

² *In parvo corpore maxima virtus.* *Vita S. Adalberti*, c. 8.

³ *Annal. Lobiens.*; *Annal. Saxo*; *Annal. Hildesh.*, A. 972. *Benedicti Chron.*, v. 718.

the occasion. Now that for the first time an Emperor of the West was united to a Byzantine princess, a reconciliation seemed to have been effected between Rome and Constantinople. But the splendour of the union brought no real advantage. Its fruit was a child prodigy, who, imbued with an almost morbid preference for Greece and Rome, looked with contempt on his own country. The Imperial family returned to Germany after the marriage festivities, and John the Thirteenth soon afterwards died on September 6th, 972.¹

His successor was Benedict the Sixth, the son of ^{Benedict VI. Pope 973-984.} Hildebrand, a Roman of German ancestry. He had previously been deacon in the Eighth Region, now no longer known as *Forum Romanorum*, but as *Sub Capitolio*. Owing to the absence of the Emperor, and the consequent delay of the ratification, Benedict was not ordained until January 19th, 973.² His elevation had been the cause of a schism, for the Romans, notwithstanding the loss of their elective rights, continued to put forward candidates for the Papacy. The Imperial faction had proposed Benedict; the National party had, however, voted for

¹ He was buried in S. Paul's. His epitaph says at the end: *Hic vero summus Pont. Joannes in ap. Sede sedi annos septem. Depositionis ejus dies 8. Id. Sept. ab Incarn. D. A., 972* (Baron., ad A. 972).

² *Cod. Estensis* (Murat., iii. 2, 332): *Benedict VI., diacon. de reg. VIII. sub capitolio ex patre Ildebrando monacho ingressus est m. Jan. d. 19. Hic fuit electus V. anno regis Ottonis, Ind I., Dominus sediit a. 1, m. 6.* This is the passage out of which arose the imaginary Pope *Donus*, who has been inserted in later catalogues between Bened. VI. and Boniface.—Jaffé, p. 331; *Jahrb. d. D. Reichs*, ii. 2, von Giesebricht, *Excurs.* viii.

Death of
Otto I.,
May 7th,
973.

Franco, son of Ferrucius. Benedict the Sixth became Pope, fear of the power of the old Emperor sufficing to keep Rome in check during his lifetime. After having made Germany the most powerful country of Europe, the great monarch died on May 7th, 973. The Romans immediately deserted the Pope, and hastened to bring forward their own candidate in his stead. The youth of Otto the Second, his absence in Germany, where he was obliged to secure the sovereignty, the promises of help on the part of the Byzantine commanders in Southern Italy gave courage to the Romans. The moment seemed to have arrived when it might be possible to recover their ancient rights, and perhaps obtain release from foreign rule.

The Cres-
centii be-
come
powerful.

The powerful family of the Crescentii stood at the head of the nationalists. Its ancestors, like the ancestors of Alberic, are veiled in obscurity. The names Crescens and Crescentius, however, frequently occur during Imperial times, although perhaps not until the third century. In the Placitum of Lewis the Third, of the year 901, the name of a Crescentius appears for the first time. We observe it again among the nobles of Alberic, and have seen Crescentius of the Marble Horse take part in the November Synod of Otto the First. The books of Farfa further mention the marriage of Theodora, daughter of this Crescentius, with Benedict, nephew of John the Thirteenth. Another John, undoubtedly son of the same Crescentius, led the counter revolution of 966.

The Caballi
Marmorei.

The surname *a caballo marmoreo* is one of the

most remarkable in Rome. By the marble horse are understood the two colossal horses and their tamers, the celebrated masterpieces of antiquity which still stand on the Quirinal in front of the Baths of Constantine, and which apparently became the subject of a curious legend in the *Mirabilia*. In the tenth century the three statues of the Constantines, now on the Piazza of the Capitol, stood beside those of the horse tamers on the Quirinal. Ignorant pilgrims, looking on these naked giants and reading on their pedestals the names of the greatest Athenian sculptors,¹ transferred the names to the horse tamers themselves, and related the following legend:—"Once upon a time two young philosophers, Praxiteles and Phidias, came to the Emperor Tiberius,² who looking upon them asked in surprise: 'Why do you go about naked?' They answered: 'Because all before us is naked and clear to us, and we esteem the world as nought. Even what thou ponderest alone in thy chamber in the silence of the night can we repeat word for word.'

¹ It is probable that many statues bore such titles in ancient Rome. Thus in the Piazza Montanara a marble pedestal was discovered with the inscription: *OPVS PRAXITELIS* (*Bull. della Comm. Arch. Municip.*, ii. 174, 1874).

² *Duo philosophi juvenes*. In the *Passio SS. IV.*, *Coronator*, along with *artifices*, five *philosophi* are mentioned as skilled in art, and the art of sculpture is called *ars philosophica*. O. Benndorf thence inferred that in mediæval Latinity *philosophus* also signified sculptor.—*Archæol. Bemerk. sur Passio SS. IV. Cor.*, in Büdinger's *Untersuch. sur Röm Kaisergesch.*, iii. 343. On the other hand, see Lambroso's explanation, who by *philosophi* understands only eminent and highly educated men.—*Atti dei Lincei*, v. 74 f. In Byzantium, Phidias and Praxiteles were regarded as jugglers and magicians: *Sathas, Légende de Phidias*, in the *Annuaire—des Études Grecques* Paris, 1882, p. 143.

Tiberius replied: 'If you are indeed able to do this, then I will give you whatever you desire.' They answered: 'Money we do not desire, but a monument.' After they had revealed his inmost thoughts to the Emperor on the following day, Tiberius commanded their memorials to be erected, *i.e.* two prancing horses, symbols of the powerful rulers of the earth: a mightier king was, however, to come to mount the horses, that is, to subdue the power of the princes of the world. Half-naked men were therefore represented standing near the horses with their arms raised and their fists clenched. These men foretell the future, and, as they are themselves naked, so all knowledge lies naked before them. The woman who sits surrounded by serpents, and holding a bowl, signifies the Church, which is surrounded by many documents. No one, however, can understand these writings who has not previously bathed in that bowl.' Such is the legend of the Caballi Marmorei. It consequently appears that close to the horse tamers stood a statue of Hygieia, with the serpent drinking out of a patera, and that this statue was popularly regarded as the symbol of the Church.¹

Roman
nicknames
of this
period.

Thus from the place of his dwelling Crescentius received a surname, which was later borne by other

¹ Mirabilia, *De Caballis Marmoreis in Roma*. The Romans said a *Caballo Marmoreo* in the singular. So too the Quirinal is called Monte Cavallo at the present day. Signorili also wrote in *sæc. XV.*: *In clivio Caballi* (*De Rossi, Le prime raccolte*, p. 45). The *Anon.* of Einsied. thus specified the horses: *Therma Sallustiana, Sca Susanna et Caballi Marmorei*. Buffalini's plan of the city (about 1551) marks them as standing beside the Baths of Constantine, before Sixtus V. in 1589 had them placed on the piazza of the Quirinal.

Romans also.¹ These Crescentii had undoubtedly erected a fortress for themselves in the ruins of the Thermæ of Constantine, perhaps on the spot where the Palazzo Rospigliosi now stands. People often called themselves after the quarter where they dwelt, and since these quarters were usually marked by monuments, the Romans of the tenth century are frequently designated by curious sounding names. These names arrest our attention, recalling as they do the monuments of antiquity, and frequently forming our sole evidence of their continued existence. We thus encounter Romanus and Gregorius a Campo Martio, Johannes de Campo Rotundo, Sergius de Palatio, Benedictus a Macello sub Templo Marcelli (of the meat market under the theatre of Marcellus), Durantus a Via Lata, Ildebrando a Septem Viis, Gratianus a Balneo Miccino, Johannes a S. Angelo, Franco a S. Eustachio, Riccardo a Sancto Petro in Vincula, Petrus de Cannapara, Bonizo de Colossus, Andreas de Petro : all of them derived their names from the alleys of the Colosseum.² From these local

¹ A *Landolfo de caballo marmoreo*, A. 1005. *Reg. Sublac.*, fol. 156 ; and a *Beraldus et filius primus defensor de Cavallo Marmoreo*, A. 1014 (Galletti, *Dei. Prim.*, n. 30) seem to belong to this family. Again, in 1148, I find a *Senator Georgius ab equo marmoreo* : *Mscr. Vatican* of Galletti, n. 8043.—A. 1259 again *heredes Crescentii de caballo*—*Mscr.*, n. 8044, p. 31. Document of Alex. IV. of August 1, 1287—a *Lionardus cavalerio de cavallo* ; *ibid.*

² *Andreas de Petro qui dicebatur de Viola de Colosso testis.* Mittarelli, p. 235, dipl. 104, A. 1019.—The Cannapara was a street which in sec. x. and later lay in the Velabrum opposite S. Theodore, between the Palatine and the Capitol. Casimiro, *Geschichte von Araceli*, p. 438. The name Cannapara is as yet unexplained ; it probably referred to some ancient building. See Vol. V. An ancient church called S. Maria in Cannapara stood within it.

Overthrows
Benedict
VI., and
exalts
Boniface
VII.

Crescentius stirred up an insurrection ; the Romans seized Benedict the Sixth, threw him into S. Angelo, and here strangled him in July 974. Meanwhile they raised a deacon, the son of Ferrucius, to S. Peter's Chair as Boniface the Seventh.¹ The Pope thus forcibly installed is said to have been a Roman, but his family is unknown. Since he bore the surname Franco, it has been supposed that he belonged to a family of the name which is frequently mentioned in documents of the tenth century, and which may have been of French origin.² Boniface, who stepped to the

of an inscription have been discovered in the crypt of S. Lorenzo, relating to the death of a Landulfus, who had been adopted by the Senatrix Marocia. The father of Landulfus is here specified as a Roman, a descendant of *Senatricis Theodora atque Johannis consulis et ducis*. In him De Rossi thinks he recognises Crescentius de Theodora (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1864, n. 9). The date of this inscription is *Dep. XV. Kl. Aug. Temp. D. Joh. XII., P. P. Ind. VI., A.D., In DCCCLXII.* De Rossi has, in accordance therewith, boldly brought the Crescentii into connection with Theophylact.

¹ *Cad. Vat.*, 3764 : *Comprehensus a quod. Crescentio Theodora filius et in castellum S. Angelii retrusus ibiq. strangulatus est propter bonifatium diaconi, quem miserunt vivente eo papam. Amal. Aug. : de mandato Cencii Theodora filii, ibi interfectus atque strangulatus. Herm. Contr., A. 974 : a Romanis criminator, et Crescentio Theodora filio—et eo vivente Bonifacius Ferrucci fil., Pp. ordinatus. L. Ferrucci wrote *Investigazioni—su la persona ed il pontif. di Bonif. VII.*, figliuolo di Ferruccio, 1856, in which he strives to whitewash his blackamoor namesake. Instead of *eo vivente* he invents the reading *ea vivente* (sc. *Theodora*)!—The installation of Boniface and the murder of the Pope probably took place about the same time. Amal. Aug. : *Romani ipsum Bonif. sublimaverunt statim cum dicto Bened. per eos strangulato.**

² *Franco de Britto, Franco a S. Eustachio.* The epitaph of Bened. VII. calls Bonif. *Franco*. I have read at Monte Casino diplomas of this period, according to which Ferrucci lived in Gaeta itself ; in Nerini, p. 392: A. 1072 *Ferrucius de Johannis de Crescentio testis.*

papal throne across the body of the living or dying Benedict, is described as a "monster" by his contemporaries, who assert that he was stained with the blood of his predecessor.¹ The events of this period in Rome are unfortunately only known to us through the most scanty notices, and we are scarcely aware of the elevation of Boniface before we hear of his overthrow. In the course of a month and twelve days he collected the ecclesiastical treasures together and fled to Constantinople, where, like other fugitives, he found protection. This fact makes it probable that his elevation had been associated with the policy of the Greek Emperor, who precisely at this time was striving to supplant German influence in Salerno. The banishment of the anti-pope could only be the work of the German party, which was again triumphant in Rome, and was still headed in the south by the valiant Pandulf the Ironhead.²

Boniface
driven to
Byzantium.

Crescentius also vanishes from history. He does not appear to have sought the Patriciate, and what is more he seems to have remained quietly in Rome after the victory of his opponents. A document of the year 977 mentions Crescentius Illustrissimus, called de Theodora, as a peaceful tenant of a fortress

If any one wishes to assert that Boniface VII. was related to Crescentius, I have nothing to the contrary. I cannot, however, design genealogical tables.

¹ *Horrendum monstrum Bonif. (Malifacius) cunctos mortales nequitia superans, etiam prioris Pont. sanguine cruentus.* Thus wrote Gerbert at the Council of Rheims, and Gerbert had been under Otto II., Abbot of Bobbio, and therefore resident in Italy.

² *Cod. Vatican. Catal. Eccardi* :—*sed. m. 1, d. 12. Herm. Contr., A. 974 : post unum m. expulsus, Constantinop. postea petiit.*

The
Column of
Marcus
Aurelius.

The great column of Marcus Aurelius stood as it stands to-day. In 955 Agapitus the Second confirmed it in possession to the monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite, and seven years later John the Twelfth renewed the diploma. "We confirm *in integrum*," so runs the document, "the great marble column called Antonino, as it stands with its sculptures, together with the church of S. Andreas at its base, and the circumjacent soil, surrounded as it is on all sides by public streets in this city of Rome."¹ It is thus evident that it was encompassed by an open space, and a little church had consequently arisen beside this column also. These chapels were guard-houses, the monks who dwelt therein were the guardians, and to them we owe the preservation of these renowned monuments which tower in solitary grandeur above the ruins of history. Upon these columns S. Peter and S. Paul now stand as types of Rome's twofold dominion; and no more fitting site could the Apostles have found than the columns of the two Emperors, followers of a philosophy which prepared the way for Christianity. Pilgrims climbed these columns by the inner spiral staircase, as we climb them now to enjoy the magnificent view of the

¹ Marini, n. 28, 29: two important topographical documents of sec. x. *Columpna majure marmorea in integra qui dicitur Antonino sculpta ut videtur esse per omnia cum eccl. s. Andree ad pedes et terra in circuitu suo sicuti undique a publice via circumdata esse videatur intra hanc Civitatem Rom. constructa* (n. 29). In n. 28 is added *cum cella sub se*, and this perhaps served the monks as a wine-cellars. In the Middle Ages the column was called Antonini, the name already used by the *Anon.* of Einsiedeln. We hear nothing more of the statue of the Emperor on the summit.

city from their summits. The monks must also have imposed a tax for the ascent; at least an inscription belonging to the year 1119, now placed in the portico of S. Silvestro, records that the pilgrims offered their oblations in the Church of S. Andrea beside the column of Marcus Aurelius, and that the monastery on this account leased the column as a lucrative source of revenue. It is curious to discover that the same practice had been in vogue in ancient times. Soon after the erection of the column, we learn that Adrastus, the freedman of the Emperor Septimius Severus, built a house in the neighbourhood of the column, in order to watch over it, or to collect the revenues which it yielded. Two marble inscriptions which inform us of the usage were discovered in the excavations of 1777, and these inscriptions had been placed in the guard-house by Adrastus.¹ The smaller column also, which was erected by Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus to their father Antoninus Pius, stood in the neighbourhood of the present Monte Citorio. It was of red granite, and only fifty feet in height; and as it is mentioned neither by the *Anonymous* of Einsiedeln, nor by the *Graphia* or *Mirabilia*, it is probable that it was levelled to the dust in the eleventh century.²

¹ Fea, *Sulle Rov.*, p. 350. In the first: *Adrasto Procuratori Columna Divi Marci ut ad voluptatem suam Hospitium sibi extruat. Quod ut habeat sui juris et ad heredes transmittat. Littera Date viii. Idus Aug. Roma Falcone et Claro Coss.*

² It was excavated in 1704. Pius VI. had it sawed in pieces and utilised for the Vatican Library. Its pedestal still stands in the Vatican garden. Vignoli, *De columna Imp. Antonini Pii*, Rome, 1705.

The Field
of Mars.

In the tenth century the Field of Mars, already called Campo Marzo, displayed the magnificent ruins of a city of marble. Of the various constructions of the Antonines, the vast remains of the basilica or temple still existed, as is shown by the remains of the pillared front of the Dogana. Picture the space from the Pantheon to the Mausoleum of Augustus filled by the ruins of the Baths of Agrippa and Alexander, of the Stadium of Domitian, and of the Odeum, all of which stood side by side. Imagine, further, the countless porticos which extended from the Via Lata, the Porta Flaminia, and the Bridge of Hadrian across the Campus Martius, and we have before us a world of wonders half in ruins. Within the gloomy vaults of these various buildings wretched beings, living like troglodytes, had made their miserable homes, others had constructed pitiful dwellings which clung like swallows' nests to the ruinous walls. These people planted vegetables and vines on the mounds of rubbish which had arisen on the Field of Mars; streets gradually took shape, and led to churches, which, built from ruins in the midst of ruins, lent the streets a purpose and a name. The black tower of some Roman calling himself Consul or Judex rose here and there from the midst of decay.

Mau-
soleum of
Augustus.

The Mausoleum of Augustus had not yet been converted into a fortress. Covered with earth and overgrown with trees, it bore so much the aspect of a hill as to receive the name of one, and was known in the tenth century as *Mons Augustus*, a name corrupted in the vulgar tongue into *Austa* or *L'austa*.

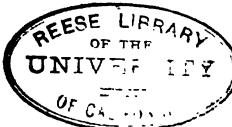
Legend related that the Emperor Octavian caused a basketful of earth from every province in the Empire to be thrown upon his grave, in order that he might rest on the soil of the entire world which he had ruled. In accordance with the precedent shown in the tomb of Hadrian, a chapel had been built to the Archangel Michael on the summit of the mausoleum.¹ The church of S. Maria or Martina in Augusta, which was later transformed into the hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, stood at this time beside the tomb. Vineyards and fields belonging to the monastery lay around. The ruinous walls with their shattered towers still led from the Porta Flaminia along the river as far as the Bridge of Hadrian, but were broken by several posterulæ or river gates.²

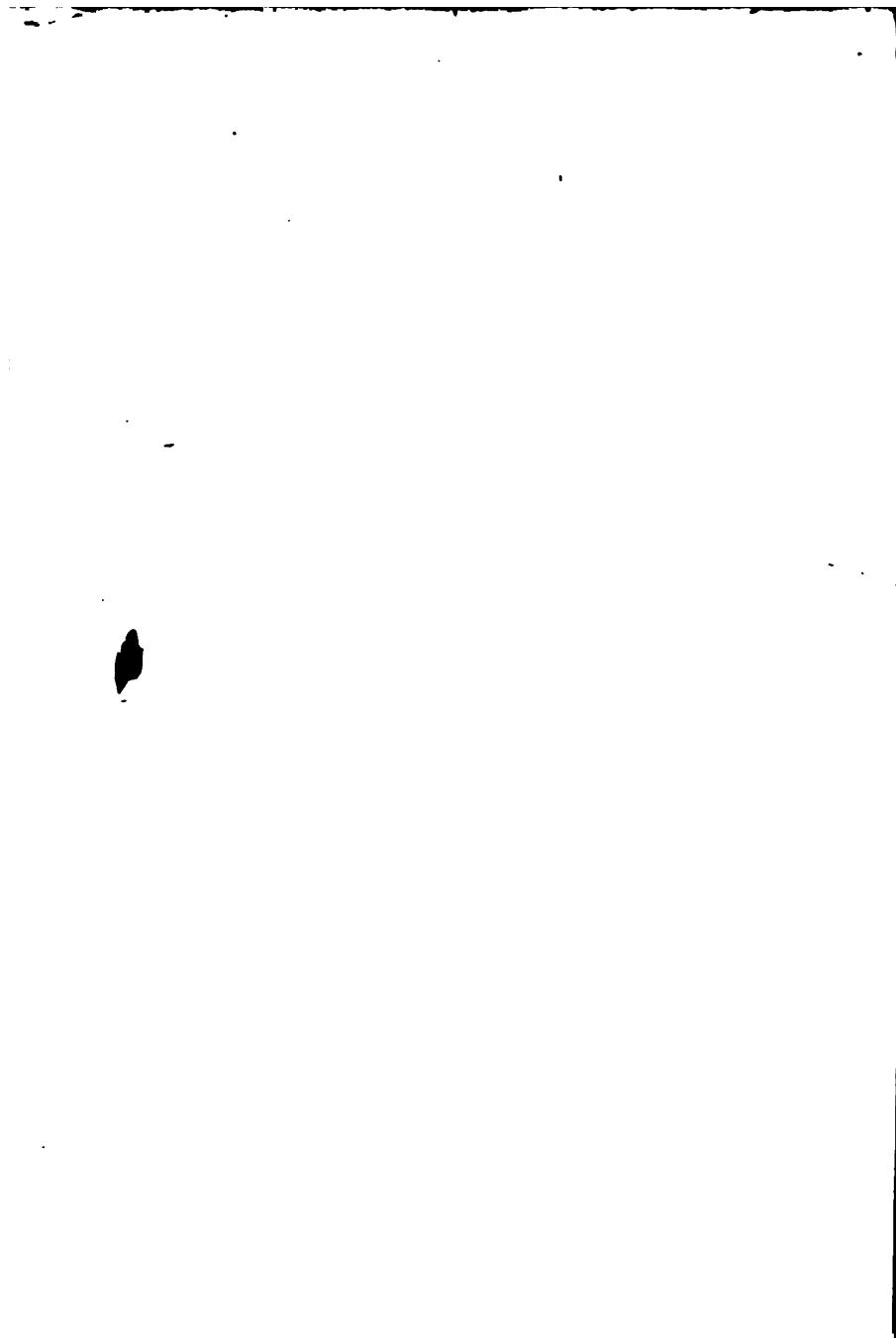
The present Porta del Popolo was, as in the *Graphia*, still called Flaminia, although even at this

¹ We learn this from the same diplomas of Agapitus II. and John XII., which confirmed the convent of S. Silvestro in possession of this tomb. *Montem in integro qui appellatur Agusto cum eccl. s. Angeli in cacumine ipsius montis.* *Dipl.* A. 955 and A. 962. The term *Mons*, as applied to a tomb, is extended by Pier Damiani to the tomb of Hadrian. *Vita S. Romualdi*, c. 25. The *Graphia* still calls it *Templum*, knows of the interior mortuary chambers arranged in a circle with their inscriptions, and relates the legend of the earth being piled up.

² *Posterula antiqua, que olim—S. Agathe, and Posterula a Pigna*: the same diploma, n. 29, A. 962. *Pila* was also used instead of *Pigna*. Then *Posterula di S. Lucia*; and *Post. di S. Maria*, also called *Dimisia*. C. Corvisieri, "Delle Posterule Tiberine," *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.* i., 1878. Further, *Posterula de Episcopo*, Galletti, *Prim.*, n. 29, A. 1012; *Reg. Farf.*, 697; close to the spot *Captum!Seccuta, or Cantusecutu*. In the *Reg. Subl.*, p. 63, A. 938, appears the name *centum scuta*, of which the others are probably corruptions. A sixth *Posterula* in the *Regola*, in Corvisieri, p. 156.

buildings and streets; the district beside the Forum was inhabited, the Suburra still survived. The most splendid quarter, however, was the Via Lata. Trastevere must also have been thickly populated. Finally, Leo IV. had founded a new civic colony in the Vatican suburb by building the Leonina, the so-called "Portico of St Peter's."





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